







# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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VOLUME CXXI.

July, 1905.

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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.* MILTON.

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THE  
CALCUTTA REVIEW.  
No. CCXLI.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
ART. I.—STUDENT LIFE IN INDIA ...	319
„ II.—PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN ARMENIA ...	338
„ III.—THE OFFICE OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL ...	358
„ IV.—OUR COUSINS, THE EURASIANS OF INDIA ...	381
„ V.—LORD CURZON AND THE NATIVE STATES ...	398
„ VI.—AN OBSERVATION ON THE RELIGIOUS FUTURE OF INDIA ...	408
„ VII.—THE EARLY DAYS OF STEAM NAVIGA- TION IN INDIAN WATERS ...	422
„ VIII.—FOURTEEN DAYS IN THE HIMALAYAS ...	443
CRITICAL NOTICES—	
The Quatrains of Hali. (Maulavi Saiyid Altāf Hassain Ansari Panipati), edited with a translation into English by G. E. Ward, M.A. Henry Frowde. 1904 ...	466
Kshatriyas and would-be Kshatriyas. by Kumar Cheda Singh Varma, B.A. Pioneer Press, Allahabad ...	467
Maitreyi, by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. ...	468
Rudyard Kipling—A Criticism by T. M. Robertson. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras ...	468
The Early History and Growth of Calcutta. By Raja Binaya Krishna Deb. Calcutta: Romesh Chandra Ghose, B.A., 106/1, Grey Street. 1905 ...	468
VERNACULAR LITERATURE ...	470
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ...	472

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

No. 241—JULY 1905.

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## Art. I.—STUDENT LIFE IN INDIA.\*

*Limitation of Subject.*—The subject I have chosen for my paper to-day is so wide that I had better start by defining the limits within which I propose to treat it. Let me then say at once that I do not propose to consider student life in India as it existed in ancient times, except in so far as some reference to by-gone days and a by-gone system may be necessary to elucidate my meaning when treating of present days and the present system—if system that can be called which has grown up around us in so haphazard a fashion. I propose then to present for your consideration a picture of a student's life in modern India. In doing this I have two objects: first I desire to show what in my view are its main defects and greatest dangers; secondly I wish to suggest the lines on which, as it appears to me, the necessary reforms should run.

*Student life in ancient India: why the ancient system is no longer applicable.*—As said above I do not propose to treat educational methods prevalent in ancient India, still less to compare and weigh them in the balance with modern methods. Nevertheless a brief reference to them is necessary if merely for the purpose of showing that, however excellent they may have been in their own time and generation, they are no longer applicable under the conditions existing in modern India. We are all of us more or less, and in this country I suspect a good deal more than less, *laudatores temporis acti*, praisers of by-gone times, and the question may perhaps have

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\* A Paper read before the Teachers' Conference in the Dacca College, Common Room.

suggested itself to you, why cannot we restore the system in force in ancient India? Possibly some of my hearers may have gone even further and endeavoured, in however humble a measure, to restore some features of that system. There appear to me, however, to be two reasons, the one positive, the other negative which absolutely preclude the possibility of any recurrence to the ancient system, however excellent it may have been. The positive reason is that the ancient educational system of India had a religious basis. The negative reason is that the ancient system had no utilitarian basis. Let us consider these two points more closely.

*Because, first, it was based upon religion.*—That the system of education in force in ancient India had a religious basis is a fact so commonly known that it is unnecessary to insist upon it. No doubt the *guru* aimed at fitting his pupils for worldly business as well, but his main work was that of religious instruction coupled with ceremonial observances. But here, if we would aim at any return to the ancient order of things, we are confronted with a difficulty. Education, for good or ill, is largely in the hands of Government. It must, of necessity, be a matter in which Government is very deeply interested, for upon it so much of national well-being depends. The British Government of India, however, is one which in creed is separated by a barrier at present impassable from all but an almost infinitesimally small proportion of its subjects. Under these circumstances, two courses only were open to it when considering its educational policy. Either it could leave education in the hands of the various native sects and creeds helping all impartially or it could lay down the broad lines of a system of secular education keeping clear of religious instruction altogether. The two policies have in practice been combined. State education in India is secular only, but it is open to any religious body to open schools in which their own religious tenets are taught and to apply for and obtain State aid towards such portion of their curriculum as conforms to the Government requirements in secular instruction. It is frequently said that a system of education not based upon religion is not worthy of the name. But even granting the truth of this dictum and allowing, as we must allow, that by restricting

its energies to the field of secular instruction Government loses the immensely valuable motive force which religion would supply, it must yet remain evident that any other course would be beset with the greatest practical difficulties and religious and political dangers. It is confessedly a choice of evils, but of the two, strict neutrality, even to the length of indifference, in religious education would seem to be less bad than an active participation in teaching the tenets of numerous foreign creeds. In a word by rejecting the religious sanction to education the State loses a most powerful auxiliary, but by accepting it it would certainly find that it had called in to its aid a most dangerous ally.

*And, second, it was not based upon utility.*—The negative reason why the educational system in force in ancient India is no longer applicable is that it runs counter to all modern tendencies in directly rejecting the idea of utility. It is obvious that a system which required so many years for its completion that it took up the greater part of an average lifetime looked to considerations other than utilitarian ones. Modern thought, however, lies on a different plane. Education has become more and more expensive. The money for it has to be found in constantly increasing quantities by Government, that is, if analysed, by the people who live under the Government. According to modern utilitarian ideas such money can only be properly spent on an object which, directly or indirectly, is of benefit to the people as a whole. Education is such an object, but to be of general benefit it must be open to as many as possible who seek it and, while not neglecting the field of research, its main direction must be towards enabling the greatest possible number to improve and develop their latent faculties and thereby to raise the general level of citizenship. Government must thus turn its main attention towards primary education which is, of course, the foundation on which the edifice of higher instruction must be built. It must then see that this higher or secondary education be provided for all those who are best fitted for it—not necessarily for all those who want it, which is a very different proposition—and it must finally provide in some measure for original research without which the whole system will stagnate. But all this has to be done with

money taken in taxes which should, according to modern ideas, be spent for the greatest good of the greatest number. It is therefore necessary that as many as possible should pass through the educational machine, provided always they are capable of receiving improvement thereby—the less capable always giving way to the more capable—and for this purpose it is further necessary that the educational system should in its primary stage be short and even in its secondary stages should be as short as is compatible with the due fulfilment of its object. In a word the educational machine may be compared with the military machine as it exists to-day in the leading nations of Europe. The army is the nation in arms. It is the object of these States that every citizen should receive a military training. But as such training would be intolerably burdensome to the nation unless restricted to the shortest space of time compatible with efficiency, so every citizen has no more than two or three years' compulsory service with the colours and afterwards takes his place in the reserves, being free to engage in civil life and yet being at the same time a potential soldier available in times of national emergency. Similarly it is the object of modern Governments that every citizen should receive the rudiments of education. This education is, however, not an end in itself but a means to an end, *vis.*, the improvement of the individual and with him of the citizen and the nation. Consequently, though all important, it must not be too long else it would defeat its own end, *vis.*, the preparation of the individual for the active duties of citizenship, and, moreover, would block the way for succeeding generations. Hence we see that the modern educational ideal is of a highly utilitarian character covering a few years only of life and with a very definite purpose. To sum up, the system of education which prevailed in ancient India may be said to have possessed the distinguishing characteristics of length and religious training and therefore to have been adapted and intended only for the few. The chief features of the modern system in India as elsewhere are brevity and secular instruction adapted and intended for the many.

*Nature of the problem under consideration.*—The modern system of education being thus, in its three principal features

the direct antithesis of the ancient, it is more profitable to consider how we can best adapt the former, to our changing and growing needs rather than idly to sigh after the latter. The problem before us then is how to make the best use of the modern educational system with its three distinguishing features of brevity, secularity, and popularity.

*Method of consideration.*—The best way of arriving at a solution of the problem will probably be by placing before ourselves three tableaux, the first of student life as it exists to-day in India; the second of student life as it used to be at the dawn of the modern system in England and Europe generally, and the third of student life in England as it now is or is supposed to be. We shall then be in a position to judge how far it may be possible to approximate the first to the third of these three pictures, and incidentally from the picture of student life in England as it was in the middle ages we shall see that there is no cause for despair even if such approximation should be inexact or long deferred. Let us then begin with a picture of student life in India as it is.

*Student life in modern India.*—The vast majority of the people of India live in rural tracts and we should therefore expect to find by far the largest number of boys of school-going age reading in village primary schools. Such indeed is the case, though the numbers reading in urban schools are far larger in proportion to the total residents within urban limits than are the numbers reading in village schools in proportion to the total residents within rural limits. For this there are two reasons, *viz.*, first the more advanced condition of the towns in India, as in other countries, in respect of education and secondly the greater relative progress made in secondary over that made in primary education, a fact which causes urban schools to be filled when rural ones are empty, as all secondary schools almost without exception are in urban areas. Thus though the number of students in rural schools is greater than the number in urban schools, it is not so much greater as we should expect. Further, the problems connected with the life of students in rural schools are not so difficult. Nearly invariably they live with their parents and guardians and any raising of the general level of education



and morals must depend mainly, if not entirely, on the improvement of the rural schoolmaster and, above all, of the student's home. It is, however, when the student leaves his home to read in some distant secondary school that the problem becomes difficult and insistent. Who is now to stand in the place of a parent to the young student? What influences now are to take the place of the early home influences?

*The value of home influence.*—The first point which calls for observation is the fact that while the absence of healthy home influence is always deplorable, the absence of home influence as it frequently exists is by no means always to be regretted, and is sometimes even a positive advantage. This remark applies, of course, to all countries to some extent, but to India perhaps more than to most, not because Indian homes are any less good than homes elsewhere, but because, owing to the inherent conservatism of Indian life, the young student finds it impossible to reconcile the new ideas he has learnt at school and college with his home life and either the one or the other, by far the most commonly the first, becomes unreal to him. Thus at school he will learn the principles of sanitation and hygiene only to find that they are in direct conflict with much that he sees and does at home and if he is contented, as he commonly is, to leave it so, what he has learnt becomes mere book learning to him and nothing more. While therefore we may freely admit the great loss suffered by any boy in being taken for most of the year from the surroundings and influences of a healthy home, it is doubtful whether such loss in the majority of cases is nearly so great as is commonly supposed and whether there are not a considerable minority of cases in which, owing to home influences being the reverse of wholesome, the withdrawal of the student from them is not a positive advantage. But if we are to withdraw the student from his home we must be prepared to put something better in its place: that can be our only justification for such withdrawal and that is just what up to the present, with rare exceptions, we have failed to do. It is the absence of any influence aimed at supplying the place of the home influence which is the most noticeable feature of Indian student life.

*Noticeable features of Indian student life away from home.*

*First, absence of care for the student.*—The absence of anything to take the place to the student which the home should take manifests itself in many ways. The first and most deplorable is the absence of all care for the welfare of the student, material, intellectual, and moral. Even the worst home will usually protect the material interests of its members. It will act, so to speak, as a buffer between the young life and the outside world and will ensure to the young boy the supply of his most urgent material wants and a certain amount of care in sickness. A good home does, of course, a great deal more than this. What agency, however, does even so much as this for the young student residing away from home? Let us take his life. On entering his name in a secondary school in some city his first care is to look about for some hostel or mess in which he may live. This being found he deposits in his share of the room his scanty stock of furniture. For a certain number of hours daily he attends school. But even in school he is commonly only known as a name or a number and outside school he is not known at all except to his mess-fellows. Should he fall sick he has none but them to depend on. Unless he has money to pay for a private tutor he has no one to go to for help in school work. Worst of all he has no kindly eye watching over him, no friendly hand stretched out to shield him from the moral temptations to which young life in a big city must be exposed. When these things are considered the wonder in my mind is not that so many Indian students turn out the wrecks we sometimes see but that so many come out of the ordeal—an ordeal under which nearly every European boy would succumb—comparatively scatheless.

*Second, squalid conditions of life.*—The absence of care for the student is, of course, the root of the whole matter and from it we may trace all the other objectionable features of student life in India. One of these is certainly the squalid conditions under which that life is commonly carried on. Rooms in hostels and messes are commonly overcrowded, sometimes to a very gross extent. Nearly always they are not kept so clean as they should be. No student seems to take any interest in his share of the room in which he passes so much of his life.

There is no attempt on his part, as a rule, to decorate it or even to make it comfortable. Here the system and the boy are both at fault. So long as accommodation is so bad as it commonly is, it is useless to expect any boy to take pride in his share of it. Still much more might be done by the boy than is. I have been into many students' rooms which in themselves were good enough and were only rendered bad by the utter absence of any attempt on the part of the occupants to render them decent, let alone comfortable. This in the main is not a question of money, it is a matter of habit. The Indian student, apparently accustomed to a low standard of comfort at home, is content with none at all away from home and generations of neglect have allowed this habit to become second nature.

*Third, absence of discipline.*—From the foregoing it is obvious that no proper discipline can exist. There are those who are below as well as above discipline and the Indian student is commonly the former. Discipline implies life according to rule. The life of the Indian student is entirely haphazard. I have never yet come across one who drew up a regular time table for each hour of the day and adhered to it. Absence of discipline implies, of course, absence of method—the most noticeable feature in student life in India. From absence of method much of the work of the student is rendered useless. He works too hard and with too little variation. His brain refuses to retain everything that is crammed into it and eventually, from want of method in work, becomes dulled and blunted instead of sharpened. This is certainly one of the reasons of the sad sight so common in India of the young student starting so fresh and bright who with each successive year becomes duller and duller until when he enters active life his intellectual faculties fit him only for imitation. He has lost all power of initiative.

*Fourth, dullness of school life.*—The fourth characteristic of student life in India is what, to the Western mind, appears its intolerable dullness. Here again both system and students are at fault. The system in the past has done nothing to take the student out of the common groove or rut into which he generally falls, while the student appears to exhibit no desire to leave that groove. One day passes exactly like another varied

only by the occasional holidays and even the holidays are almost exactly the same. The morning's work before breakfast for two or three hours according to the season of the year ; the morning meal ; the walk to school ; the five or six more or less dreary hours spent in school, the walk back again ; more work and the evening meal—this appears to be the common routine for every working day. Nor is any advantage usually taken of holidays. To the idle boy the holiday usually means only a few more hours for loafing ; to the industrious boy a few more hours for work at home or in the mess where he is, at any rate, free from the petty annoyances of his class teacher. I can hardly imagine a more deadening, dulling, and soul-killing life than that in the above picture.

*Picture of student life at Oxford in the thirteenth century.—*

Is there then no hope for the Indian student ? To enable us the better to answer this question let us look at a picture of student life as it once existed in England at no less a place than the University of Oxford. The account is taken from Green's History of the English people, and the time is the thirteenth century.

“ At the opening of the thirteenth century Oxford stood without a rival in its own country, while in European celebrity it took rank with the greatest schools of the Western World. But to realise this Oxford of the past we must dismiss from our minds all recollections of the Oxford of the present. In the outer look of the new University there was nothing of the pomp that overawes the freshman as he first paces the “ High ” or looks down from the Gallery of St. Mary's. In the stead of long fronts of venerable colleges, of stately walks beneath immemorial elms, history plunges us into the mean and filthy lanes of a mediæval town. Thousands of boys, huddled in bare lodging houses, clustering round teachers as poor as themselves in church porch and house porch, drinking, quarrelling, dicing, begging at the corners of the streets take the place of the brightly-coloured train of doctors and heads. Mayor and Chancellor struggled in vain to enforce order or peace on this seething mass of turbulent life. The retainers who followed their young lords to the University fought out the feuds of their houses in the streets. Scholars

from Kent and scholars from Scotland waged the bitter struggle of North and South. At nightfall royster and reveller roamed with torches through the narrow lanes, defying bailiffs and cutting down burghers at their doors. Now a mob of clerks plunged into the Jewry and wiped off the memory of bills and bonds by sacking a Hebrew house or two. Now a tavern squabble between scholar and townsman widened into a general broil, and the academical bell of St. Mary's vied with the town bell of St. Martin's in clanging to arms. Every phase of ecclesiastical controversy or political strife was preluded by some fierce outbreak in this turbulent and surging mob. When England growled at the exactions of the papacy in the years that were to follow, the students besieged a legate in the abbot's house at Osney. A murderous town and gown row preceded the opening of the Baron's war. When 'Oxford draws knife' ran an old rhyme England's 'soon at strife.'

*Should teach Indian reformers not to despond.*—When we read this picture of student life at Oxford six centuries or so ago and contrast it with the present we need surely have no despondency for the future of student life in India. In many respects the condition of the big cities of the India of to-day is not much in advance of those of the Europe of the middle ages, but the Indian student, with all his faults, is not quite so bad as the picture of English students presented to us by Green and is indeed in many important respects very far ahead of his environment. Only we must not expect to accomplish in a single lifetime what in the case of Oxford it took centuries to develop. Nor must we despond if progress seems tiresomely slow. For the Oxford of to-day is what it is by reason of a long line of munificent benefactors and patrons who endowed it with its handsome and stately buildings, its teeming libraries, its noble churches, its beautiful parks and gardens. To them too is due the provision for professors and tutors and fellows and everything which constitutes the intellectual life of the place. Government has done almost nothing: the private patron practically everything. In India unfortunately patrons of learning are few and far between and Government cannot do in a few short years the work done in England by many hands spread over several centuries. We

must learn to possess our souls in patience. Unfortunately, moreover, the patron of learning in India has commonly allowed his munificence to run into a wrong channel. He has as a rule contented himself with throwing open existing facilities for study to classes hitherto debarred from enjoying them. This he has done by endowing scholarships and free studentships. But he has done little or nothing to *improve* the existing institutions. Here in Dacca at least we can congratulate ourselves that a start is being made on the right lines and that the munificent donations of the Rani of Jodeypur and of the Hon'ble Nawab Sullimulla Bahadur will result, it may reasonably be hoped, in the great improvement of the Dacca College and the School of Engineering respectively.

*Student life in England to-day.*—Let us now turn to the third of the three tableaux we put before ourselves for consideration, *viz.*, student life in England as it exists to-day and for this purpose let us take, first, a typical English public school, and, secondly, the University of Oxford which latter I take not as being the best but the one best known to me.

*At School.*—On the very threshold of our subject we come across the first great difference between English and Indian practice. In India the student commonly chooses his school for himself; the parent or guardian having very little say in the matter. In England the matter is settled entirely by the parent or guardian and the boy goes where he is sent. This difference is, of course, due to the ignorance of many parents in India on educational matters. Having been packed off from home the boy finds himself at once under the guardianship of some master from his new school. At the beginning of his journey he is commonly met by one of the masters and travels to school in his company and probably with a number of his school-fellows. On arrival at the school he is probably welcomed personally by the Headmaster and is then placed in a certain class and a certain boarding house or "house" as it is called. He has little to do now with any masters except these two; the class master, or form master as he is called, and the house-master; but, on the other hand, nearly every action of his in school and out of school, often it may be unknown to himself, comes under the notice of one of

them. But such notice is never malevolent, it is always, and wholly, benevolent. Moreover, though the two masters—the form master and the house master—between them control or influence the boy's whole school life there is no clashing in their respective spheres. The sphere of the one lies outside that of the other. The house master is the more important of the two and that for two reasons. In the first place his relationship to the boy is a permanent one lasting throughout his school life, for a boy rarely leaves one "house" for another. Secondly the house master has the supervision over all that portion of the boy's life which is spent outside the class room and this is obviously very much larger than that spent in it. But the form master's charge is also a very important one. He has not merely to enforce discipline in class, to set and to hear lessons, but he has to try and understand the causes of the failure of certain boys to keep up with the work of the class. Such failure may be due to a variety of causes, to idleness for example, or lack of interest, or sheer stupidity. The good form master is like a physician. As the latter first diagnoses the disease and then prescribes for it, so the good form master will first make a careful and patient diagnosis before applying a remedy. For it is obvious that very different remedies will be required in the three cases taken above. Failure from idleness may be met by the rough and ready methods which formerly were applied indiscriminately in all cases, but if the same methods are applied to the boy whose failure is due to lack of interest in his work or to stupidity, in both cases the failure is merely intensified. In the first case the boy's interest in his work must if possible be enlisted by presenting the subject in a more attractive form; in the second the boy must be helped, though with a wise discrimination. As the boy gets higher up in the school and the subjects he reads become less elementary and more numerous, his work in form will be taken by more than one master, nevertheless there will still remain one master who will take him in most of his work or what is considered the most important portion of it, and that master will still stand to him in the relation of form master even though he may go to other masters for separate subjects. Thus we see that the boy in an English public school from his entrance to his exit comes under

the guardianship of two masters whose special business it is to look after him, the one in class and the other out of it. To either of these he has always a right of access; to neither of them is he a mere number or name, but to both of them a real living entity whose welfare and progress they have sincerely at heart. Finally, as the boy gets towards the top of the school he comes under the personal influence of the Headmaster whose business it is to try and complete the work begun by his assistants.

*And at College.*—The system at an Oxford college is much the same as that prevailing at a public school allowing for differences in the age and position of the student. The boy has now become a young man. Ordinarily he will have left school at about eighteen and will then enter college. He is now no longer treated as a boy. He finds himself addressed, by the college staff as "Mr." So and So and the staff themselves are no longer "masters" but "lecturers," "fellows" and "tutors." Childish punishments are, of course, no longer in force and there is greater personal liberty. His "form" or "class" has become his "year" and he is free to some extent to pick or choose what lectures he shall attend and what courses of study he shall take up. Nevertheless the system is at bottom, allowing for these inevitable differences, much the same. His lecturers will, it is true, unless he is exceptionally lucky, not take the same interest in his work as did his form master, but his tutor will stand in very much the same relation to him in college as did his house master at school. During his first two years' residence he will have rooms allotted to him in college and will be under college discipline. This will include attendance at morning chapel or roll call a certain number of days a term, attendance at certain college lectures, presence at dinner in hall on so many days a week (breakfast and lunch he will have in his own rooms) and presence again in college by a certain hour in the evening. When he leaves his rooms in college, which he commonly does at the end of his second year, he goes into licensed lodgings where he still remains under college discipline, though in virtue of his position as a senior student, the discipline is somewhat relaxed. Throughout his college career whether in college or lodgings, he remains under



the control of his college tutor and not infrequently a friendship will thus spring up which will last a lifetime.

*Contrast between student life in India and in England.*—

Having thus run over the main features of student life in India and in England we are now in a position to contrast the two. As I have said before the main characteristic of student life in India, which lies at the root of all its difficulties and dangers, is the want of care which the student receives from those set in authority over him. In England this is not the case. Each boy at school and each young man at college is under the direct personal charge of one of the school or college staff; while his work is superintended by another or generally by more than one other. The second characteristic fault of student life in India, *viz.*, its squalor is also as a rule absent in England, where many of the schools and most of the colleges are housed in buildings fine in themselves but rendered still finer by their antiquity and the associations which antiquity carries with it. It is something, as in my own case, to feel that one is living in a college a part of which was built by Archbishop Laud on designs supplied by Inigo Jones, that when one enters the library one is in a room built by the greatest architect of his day nearly three centuries ago and that when one goes to see one's tutor one does so in a room in which King Charles I. is said to have once resided. The very ground and walls seem to speak to us as we go by and our petty individuality is merged in the wider life of the great corporation of which we have become members. There is no room for squalor with such surroundings or if there is the fault lies wholly with ourselves. The third fault of Indian student life, *viz.*, want of discipline can find no place in a school or college conducted on the lines traced above. From first to last the student is made to feel that his own selfish interests must give way to those of the institution to which he belongs and that his highest interests and welfare are bound up with those of the society of which he has become a member. At the same time he has the less difficulty in feeling this as he recognises that the society has his own true interests at heart. Finally there can be no dullness where every moment of the day is occupied by its own proper duty, amusement or interest. From his books the student can turn

## STUDENT LIFE IN INDIA.

to games, from games to intellectual gymnastics afforded by essay societies, debating clubs and the like, while in the students' common room he shares in the social life of those with whom he lives. Above these he has offered to him as he grows older the intellectual and social companionship of perhaps some of the foremost scholars of his time. I am aware of course that the above picture of English school and college life is painted rather *couleur de rose*; that all, even the best, fall short in some measure of this ideal and that many are lamentably deficient. It still remains true that the above is the ideal at which all aim. In India neither teachers nor taught seem to aim at any ideal at all.

*The true remedy for the existing defects in student life in India—the bringing of teachers and taught into closer relationship. How it may be accomplished.*—We have now come to the point at which we can profitably ask ourselves the question how can we approximate the condition of the Indian student to that of his happier brother in England? The question can be answered in a sentence, *viz.*, by bringing teachers and taught into closer relationship and thus making each realise their duties to the other. This, however, is a general statement and like most general statements is of little practical utility. How are we to give effect to it? How are we to bring teachers and pupils together and to make them realise their reciprocal rights and duties?

*First by the system of Boarding Houses, Hostels, and Messes.*—We have seen that the corner stone of the English school and college system is the boarding system, not necessarily under the same roof but in houses attached to the same institution and under a common discipline. The Indian system is the exact opposite of this, a student being free to choose his own mess or hostel, which may not be under the control of the institution to which he belongs, or, even to live by himself. The first thing then that is necessary is to have our principal secondary schools and colleges residential institutions. For this purpose hostels must be built and no doubt much money spent. Some will perhaps thoughtlessly condemn this as wasting on bricks and mortar money which might more profitably be spent on education. But the bricks and mortar are the education, not of course in themselves but in the

associations that gather round them and the discipline enforced in them. We want hostels not merely for 50 or 60 students out of 500, but for the whole number excluding the minority that live with parents or real guardians. But hostels alone are not sufficient; they must be properly equipped and organised. I have seen many which, though called hostels, are in reality only so many *serais* or rest houses. There is no corporate life among their inmates and, though it may be allowed that it is better for students to live in them, even as they are, than in the city under no control, still they are not fulfilling their main function. I should like to see, and hope some day soon I shall see, hostels in which all senior students will occupy their own cubicles and the junior students a reasonable space of a common room, where each room shall be plainly but adequately furnished with bed, chair and table and well lighted and ventilated; where discipline will be regularly enforced by monitors chosen from the senior students themselves under the supervision of resident masters and to which it will some day be held to be a privilege and an honour to belong. When in after life we hear men talking of their school and college days and saying with pride that they lived in such and such a hostel we may believe that the work is on the way of being accomplished. But hostels, it may be said, cannot be provided for all students at once. This is no doubt true and in the meanwhile we must do what we can with outside institutions known as "messes." These must necessarily in most cases be inferior to the former in architecture and accommodation, but in other respects may be approximated to them. The work of the Indian reformer in this branch will not be finished until he has placed hostels and messes in such a position that they can command sentiments of affection and respect from their members.

*Second by tightening the bonds between teachers and pupils.*—The second work that awaits the Indian reformer is the improvement and closing of the relations between teachers and pupils. Here the fault undoubtedly lies mainly on the side of the teachers. The average teacher appears to regard his work done when he has taught so many hours or delivered a certain number of lectures a week. In reality

this is only a part of his work and very often not the most important part. It is his business to know his pupils, not merely to teach them, for properly speaking no teaching worth the name is possible without personal contact of mind with mind, and how can this contact ever take place when the pupil is only a number or a name to his teacher? But it may be said personal knowledge is impossible when masters are limited to a bare 20 and pupils number 500 or 600. It is, of course, impossible for each master to know each of the 500 or 600, but if the 600 be divided into 20 batches of 30 each there is nothing to prevent each batch being known individually to some one of the 20 masters. In a school then where the classes are limited to 30 or 40 in number each master can know his pupils to some extent, and in a college where the whole class may number over 100, though it is impossible for the lecturer to know them all, it is quite possible by the process of dividing into batches above explained for every student to be personally known to some one or other of the college staff. Thus if, as in the Dacca College, there are approximately a staff of 12 and students numbering 360 and the latter are divided, roughly speaking, into batches of 30 each, it is obvious that each batch can be placed under the control of one member of the staff. And here the caste system is a help instead, as it commonly is, a hindrance, for the batches would be made on caste distinctions and each batch given to a professor of that particular caste. Similarly the mess system would be a help were messes restricted to members of one institution, a reform which, in my opinion, is very desirable. There need then be no difficulty in each student being known individually to some one member of the school or college staff, and with the disappearance of this difficulty disappears the last excuse for the neglect of student life outside school hours so universal in India. The fault lies with the Indian teacher and with him alone; he has failed to recognise his most important duty. Content with lecturing or teaching a certain number of hours a day he has suffered his pupils to do as they please out of the class room. The schoolmaster's business is to develop his pupil's character as well as to inform his mind and the former duty is infinitely more important than the latter.

*Third by the universities.*—The Indian universities can also bear a large and important share in the work of Indian educational reform. I desire to speak of them with all due respect, but they also, like the Indian teachers and lecturers of whom their governing bodies are largely composed, seem to me to have fallen into the same error of confounding instruction with education and to have placed the increase of knowledge (such as it is) above the development of character. Hitherto, with rare exceptions they have affiliated any institution applying for affiliation regardless of its staff, accommodation and surroundings. In England this might have no bad result, as the colleges there are of such a character as to require little supervision in these respects. But in India, where many colleges are merely commercial speculations, where the passing of the prescribed examinations is considered the be-all and end-all of education, such freedom of affiliation is merely an invitation to disaster. But it may be said surely, in homely phrase, "the proof of the pudding lies in the eating." If students from these ill-equipped institutions can pass the prescribed examinations that is proof that the institutions are fit for the work required of them. And so indeed it is. But the point is that the work required of them, *viz.*, the passing of a certain number of pupils through certain examinations—is not the *only* work that *should* be required of them. Colleges should, of course, give proof of their efficiency in this respect, but also of their efficiency in other and in my opinion far more important respects. Among these I would reckon first adequate accommodation, appliances and apparatus; second due provision for and regulation of their members in hostels and messes; third a properly organised staff; fourth the maintenance of discipline and especially the observance of inter-school and inter-college rules. To carry out this work the universities would have to appoint committees to inspect and report upon the condition of affiliated colleges. In the case of colleges under, or aided by, Government such inspection and report could be safely left in the hands of the local Director of Public Instruction.

*Fourth, by the raising of the educational ideal.*—But all the above is after all mere machinery, indispensable though I consider it to be. With what object are we to set this machinery in

motion? Hitherto the object of Indian educationalists seems to have been concentrated on the point of how to increase the numbers reading in school and college, those presenting themselves for examination and the percentages of passes. I would in closing present to you a far higher ideal than this. Quantity is not everything or even the main thing: it is quality that will tell in the long run. Are we improving the *quality* of Indian education and, granting that we are, could we not improve it still further? Are the graduates, the products of our universities, during the past 20 years superior to their predecessors of 20 years ago even in mere knowledge? Certainly in knowledge of the English language and literature they appear to me to be distinctly inferior. And in other things more important than mere book learning are they improving or deteriorating? Is the standard of manners higher or lower? The natives of India have long been noted for their combination of dignity with the most perfect politeness. Is this a combination we see in our students? Is it not a fact, now almost notorious, that educated India, especially young educated India, is inferior in politeness and courtesy to the uneducated classes? Even in class we hear complaints of difficulty in maintaining discipline and outside the class room no attempt is made to maintain it. Again, has reverence for all that is good and noble, and disgust and contempt for all that is base and vicious grown, or the reverse? Are the ideals of young India higher than they were? Indeed have they any clearly defined ideals other than that of self-advancement? The future belongs to the races with ideals and among such those that have the lower ideals will have to give way to those with the higher. We who are interested in education should at least have our ideal which is best expressed in the noble words of the poet which I find prefixed to the Report of the Dacca College Union.

" Let knowledge grow from more to more,  
But more of reverence in us dwell ;  
That mind and soul according well,  
May, make one music as before,  
But vaster."

*Dacca College.*

C. H. BROWNING.

## • Art. II.—PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN ARMENIA.

**T**WO nations of great antiquity are constantly being brought into public notice—the Jew and the Armenian.

One can count cycles of more than four thousand years of continuous unbroken national life.

The Jew claims Abraham as his father. The Armenian claims his father as nearly 300 years old when Abraham was born. Haik, their first patriarch, was the son of Togarmah (Gen. x-3) and grandson of Japheth the son of Noah. Haik was born 2277 B. C., Abraham 1996 B. C. These are the two nations to-day which have been true to the God of Israel in their national life. They have witnessed the glory and decline of Egypt, Persia, Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, Greece, and Rome.

To-day without an earthly king, to rule and guide, and hold allegiance,—without a flag to stir their souls to deeds of patriotic valour, without a national life to preserve organic unity, deprived of the ownership of the soil which has drunk in the life's blood of their sons of war, to give in exchange the bread and water, oil and wine, which has given them life, in return for their lives—kingless, flagless, homeless, disorganized—they have each been true to the one great and only God who has kept His promise to them "With long life will I satisfy thee, and in thee and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." Through tribulation, anguish, persecution, famine, nakedness, peril, and sword they have been more than conquerors.

Both nations acknowledge Jehovah as the God above all other gods. The Jews were the first nation to reject Jesus Christ as Messiah and the revelation of God in the flesh, calling Himself the Beloved Son of God. The Armenians were the first nation to accept Jesus Christ as Messiah, the Eternal Word who became flesh, who lived the life of a God on earth, who died and rose again from the dead as only a God could do, and who said "Before Abraham was I AM, and Abraham rejoiced to see my day."

Through the profoundest calamities these two nations have lived. God is using them to-day to teach the eternal

verity which Christ taught, that calamities, national or individual, are not always the result of sin, but that God would teach us, day by day if we would but learn the lesson,—that *every so-called calamity is simply an occasion of grace that the works of God may be made manifest in us.*

Here we must leave the parallelism to deal with the present history of the once great nation and peoples of Armenia. The first Christian nation under King Apgar was contemporaneous with Herod and Augustus Cæsar and Jesus Christ. Herod sent word to King Apgar to place a statue of Herod in all Armenian temples. King Apgar refused, fought and defeated the armies of Herod and then journeyed to Rome to explain to Augustus Cæsar the cause of the war, and on his return went to Persia, where he fell ill. Hearing of the wondrous miracles of Christ he sent messengers to Jerusalem, two Greeks whom their traditions say were the Greeks who met Philip and said, "Sir, we would see Jesus," and our Lord Jesus Christ promised after His death and resurrection to send a disciple to heal Apgar.

Accordingly Thaddeus the apostle arrived in due season, healed King Apgar, baptised him, and the people wishing to follow their king accepted Christ Jesus as their Saviour and thus Armenians have the great distinction of being the first Christian nation, with King Apgar as the first Christian king. Fitting it is, therefore, that the Christian nations in power to-day should recognize their claim to brotherhood and as Christian brethren in need, crying out to Christian brethren,—hear them.

Not that they may have another king to rule over them, for more loyal subjects His Majesty the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, cannot find in his domains, than the Armenians.

Not that they may be allowed to govern themselves while another flag claims their allegiance, though they cannot join the army of their king to protect their families and homes. Islam says we have naught in common.

Not that they may be exempted from their fair share of duty as citizens of a country where they are denied the privilege of justice and equality in its law courts; for, think of it, no Armenian's testimony is accepted in a Turkish Court of Law because he is a Christian.



Not that they ask that another nation may govern them, or interfere with their property rights, for although the Turkish Government has many faults, it is not all fault. But that they may be allowed to live in peace, with life and property secure, tilling the soil tilled by their forefathers, tending their flocks, and engaging in commercial and educational pursuits as in days gone by.

Realizing that in the many questions involved, and the differences of opinion there might be, regarding matters political, social, religious and otherwise, I am simply going to place before the readers of this Review the facts as I ascertained them while sojourning in the country; with all fairness and careful regard to truth,—my readers must form their own conclusions.

Now as to facts. Much has been said through the daily papers, from time to time about Armenian revolutionists. Are the Armenians therefore to be considered revolutionists? What are the facts?

Before the great massacres of 1895, always referred to by them as "the great event", taxation, fanaticism, crop failure and oppression, together with disarmament and consequent feeling of insecurity, led the Armenians to discuss their unhappy situation and take action to remedy it if possible.

Three classes of revolutionists were the result :—

1. *The Conservatives.* These believed in the revolution of political conditions by means of education. "Education will right our wrongs" said they "at the proper time."

If people are elevated mentally and morally the right will triumph. They strove to reach the great masses of the people by systematic organization.

Their leaders and energetic men were composed of the flower of their best society. Over a thousand of them were killed while marching in "passive resistance" to Persia. The leader was Portuguese Mugaritch, a learned native of Constantinople. He edited a paper in French and Armenian. By his consent committees were appointed, called "Central Committees" organized in the larger centres. They in turn controlled the villages near their centres. Groups of ten to fifteen young men selected one of their number to represent them in

the central Meeting and from their numbers a central group was again chosen. These groups gathered money, guns, ammunition, etc., separately, taking orders from the central committee.

Before the massacres of 1895 they strove to open High Schools of advanced grade, with revolutionist teachers, *i.e.*, men in sympathy with these ideas. They organized Sunday Schools where they taught reading, writing, and distributed literature. No members were admitted, who were known to be immoral. Neither were drinkers admitted, any man known to commit an excess or guilty of a degrading act was expelled. Their leaders were most carefully chosen as men above suspicion, strong and true. They alone knew the secrets. Death sure and swift was the penalty for revealing any secrets. They stood by all business enterprises, and found work for the unemployed that they might support their families. They gave a great impetus to art, and taught young men it was a credit to them to work and excel in it. Help was given to the destitute and especially prisoners. They stopped the sale of goods on Sunday at the bazaars which the Arachnort (chief priest) and Turkish Government failed to do. The Armenians would not come to market to desecrate the day and the Turks were forced to close their shops because there was no business. Groups of fifty met together to study the Gospels and Bible.

The head of all this activity was one Dikron Derharotunian. He was killed on his way to Persia. The men drilled at home, practised shooting where they could do it unobserved, checked wrong doing on the part of rich and prominent Armenians against the weak and poor. The young men were persuaded to take athletic exercise, run races, and practise feats of endurance. Preachers were sent to the villages to teach the children. They were representatives of the movement, and having guns sought to secure others and afford protection.

This represents fairly the highest type of Armenian revolutionist, a veritable reformer. He would not resort to arms unless in self-defence, while he always strove to inculcate the noblest thought and highest ideals which would uplift his fellow-men.

II. The second class were called the *Tashmag*. This was the name of their newspaper and means *Flag*.

They were similar to the Conservatives in purpose but differed in method. They thought that by themselves they were powerless to attain their object, and they looked to Europe to intervene. They caused skirmishes and outbreaks in different parts, and drew their soldiers and helpers mostly from Russia. Their governing head lived in Switzerland, England, France, as need required. They were more liberal in their religious views than the Conservatives. The latter strove to keep the Church national in character, and the priests pure and good. The Tashmags did not care much for religion. They organized in groups but their representatives were foreigners, not natives.

Murdering they called "terroring." They were not cautious like the Conservatives and did not observe secrecy in the same way. Sunday was their usual meeting day. A group of them might often be met out at night and because they were always armed, the Turkish soldiers would permit them to pass. Their funds were raised through outside sources, and by black-mailing their own rich men.

III. The third class are known as the *Hunchags* or *Ringing Bell*. At the sound of a bell signal they were always ready for action. These are the men or class of revolutionists of to-day. Many of them are Socialists connected with the Socialists of Europe. They are for the most part without religion and nationality. They have no desire to upbuild the nation and no expectation they could do so. If asked 'What is your nation?', they say 'Mankind', and 'What is your religion?' they answer 'Socialism.'

In purpose the first and second classes are similar.

In method the second and third are closely allied. One can readily see the difference between the Conservatives and the Hunchags in method and purpose. The head-quarters of the third class were Switzerland, Vienna, Bulgaria, Roumania, but had to be frequently changed. They have regular soldiers, and are organized into groups and heads of groups or central committees. Their chief head is usually a foreigner.

So many of the first and second class lost their lives during the massacres that the third class are the element occasioning trouble at the present time.

The first and second classes feel their cause is a hopeless one, so far as securing their rights is concerned. The third class are neither wise men nor patriots. Their ends are selfish. They terrorize wherever they go, and live on the communities they visit. They extort money, grain, and other necessities from their own starving, impoverished compatriots and have little or no regard for human life or justice.

It is due to the Armenian people, as a whole, to say that with the exception of this last class who are only a few compared with the nation, the Armenians as a rule are quiet, law-abiding, industrious, shrewd, patient, and courteous individuals. They are moral, domestic, and religious. Years of oppression have made them docile and servile as a conquered people. They show splendid capabilities and desire to advance. Make good scholars, linguists, doctors, lawyers, bankers, and merchants in general, agriculturalists, shepherds, caravan men or cartijis and boatmen. The strength and endurance of their hammals is beyond description. I have known a man carry two heavy bourges filled with bedding, cooking utensils, and other paraphernalia, weighing a hundred pounds and more for over thirty miles, without more than a short rest of a few minutes at a time and only dry unleavened bread with water from the passing streams to sustain him.

His virtues outnumber his faults, but to be fair to both sides of his character, in my personal experiences in Armenia, I have observed him to be selfish and therefore thoughtless or *vice versa*, ungrateful save in verbal gratitude, but this is not peculiar to Armenians, I notice as I travel round the world.

His chief fault is inability to harmonize his life when in touch with organized society, in a word difficult for them to agree amongst themselves, but this again is not peculiar to Armenians.

This description of the three classes of Armenian revolutionists, may give some idea of the revolutionary spirit. The first are noble in spirit, and in any other country might be called merely a progressive spirit. The second also are noble in purpose but follow too much the motto, "The end justifies the means." The third,—as a socialistic spirit has strong tendency to produce are inclined towards anarchy. Anarchy as

the name implies "without law" can never be a friend to society. The present activities are not amongst the patriotic law-abiding Armenians, but represent a small—very small—proportion of inhabitants who, driven to desperation through taxation, Kurdish raiding, and more desire to do wrong than right, with their adventurous spirit, and love of power—are no respecter of persons. They terrify the Armenians as well as the Turks and Kurds, rewarding evil for evil and sometimes evil for good. It is this class the Turkish Government are trying to capture, but in pursuit of them visit their wrath, as they did in November last, upon the innocent villagers coming in their pathway. One can scarcely blame the Armenians, when they suffer as they have, turning their hand against the Government which owes the greater part of its revenues to the industry of the Armenians.

At the same time, two wrongs never make a right ; it is never right to do wrong, though it seems at times expedient. One must reap what one sows. The Hunchags will find this true, however justified they may feel in thus redressing their wrongs.

But what cause is there for this spirit of rebellion, defiance of law and order, anarchy and general restiveness? No one can realize the many difficulties confronting the officials of Turkey, unless they live in the land, have traversed it, and are in touch with officialdom. It is easy for an outsider to criticize, but an observing person passing through this country, inhabited so largely by lawless people, nomadic tribes, whose law is "might makes right," and what belongs to you is only yours until a stronger than you takes possession of it, can readily see there are many difficulties. One by one Turkey has brought, and is bringing, these Kurdish and Arab tribes into subjection. Frequently she has sent her soldiers to capture some prominent powerful Sheikh or Kurdish Agha. Placing him in prison he has languished there, while his domains have been entered, divided up or made amenable to Turkish authority. Then this Agha or Sheikh promising good behaviour and allegiance, has been permitted to return ; sometimes in state with the title of Pasha, and with an armed guard of soldiers placed in his immediate neighbourhood as his garrison. They obey him as long as there is nothing

contrary to or disloyal to the Sovereign. Think of the miles and miles of territory Turkey keeps open for the pursuit of trade and pilgrimage, of course there are exceptions; still to her credit, are the facts stated.

Now let me give you some details which will present to you truthfully and without any colouring the conditions of Armenia and Armenians, should you find yourself suddenly transferred to their beautiful home land. A land of glorious history, not only their own, but a land largely affecting the history of Europe, and going back into the most distant ages of patriarchal life amongst the Hebrews; one interpretation of Scripture telling us that Noah with his family escaped the flood by resting on Mount Ararat in the ark. It is a country of glorious vistas, mountains from whose peaks you could look down upon a Mount Blanc, snow-capped peaks eternally mantled with the whiteness of snow. As India boasts, and well she may, of the highest mountain peaks yet known to man, so Armenia claims the largest crater of an extinct volcano yet discovered. Mount Nimrod towers as a sentinel almost equal with Mount Blanc, awe-inspiring is his gigantic crater, five and a quarter miles in diameter and in its centre, a beautiful lake of emerald green, mirroring the jagged perpendicular sides of the volcano, and resembling the ruined castle of some giant of the past. Rivers of lava larger and longer than imagination could portray. Lakes that vie with the Dead Sea, in colouring deposits and usefulness. Table land, shut in by the mountain sides from thirty to a hundred and seventy-five miles long, and ten to forty miles wide, of richest soil, well watered and level as the plains of India. Rich in marbles, yea Italy is poor beside her, iron, mountains of it, with coal, great seams of it hard by waiting to be touched by the magic wand of the spirit of progress, but forbidden the touch of the native of the country, under penalty of imprisonment. How this country could turn to gold if the iron horse traversed the land, if life was safe and property rights respected, Switzerland would find a rival worthy of her best. The tourist would soon seek this glory land, and the world would not wonder why it is so dear to the heart of an Armenian who longs to live there in spite of oppression, famine, and the sword.

In America there is a saying that two things are sure in this world—death and taxes. In America a man would never be put to death, if he did not pay his taxes. Though I am afraid, sometimes, when it comes to telling the Government how much property they have, and its valuation that they may be assessed accordingly, they sometimes die moral deaths.

I am reminded of a missionary I met the other day who was summoned by telegram to hasten to the bedside of another missionary who was ill. As the day was a holiday, the Turkish officials were not at their offices, so the passports or *teskérés* could not be viséd, and taking a servant the journey was commenced without a passport. Arrived at Jumeri, at the Khan imagine their distress to find that the very official whose business it was to examine *teskérés* was also there. "What shall we do," we asked of the servant? "Well," said he, "I am going to tell a lie to get you out of this trouble. I am going to say that I am a cartaji and own this horse, then my *teskéré* will not be demanded. I am going to say that you are a hakim or doctor and have a right to travel on short notice without your passport being viséd."—Said the missionary. Is it right ever to tell a lie? No—never right to tell a lie—except to the Government!

Let us hear why Armenians and Kurds, Syrians and Yezidés are tempted to lie to the Turkish Government.

*Taxation.*—Nearly twenty-five years ago, *i.e.*, prior to 1880, the land products of Armenia gave  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of all produce to the Government. This was regularly gathered by specially appointed Government officials. In consequence of their dishonesty the Government was obliged to sell the taxes of the field products to special speculators. This helped the Government revenue, and gave least trouble, but the Government noticed it made these speculative men rich, and anxious to get the privilege.

The first year the Government found "Takers" scarce. They based their prices of sale on the basis of the previous year's return and tried to get a higher price, *e.g.*, suppose a village was recorded as paying 5,000 piastres, the Government would say "Pay me 6,000 piastres and you may collect." Thus they felt the treasury had gained 1,000 piastres. In truth the village had paid 10,000 and the collector reported 5,000.

After a good show of objections he would finally pay 6,000 and still make 4,000 though a 1,000 less than his own way.

Since 1880 the tax  $\frac{1}{10}$ th has been increased. Until 1890 it was  $\frac{1}{8}$ th, now it is  $\frac{1}{8}$ th and 6/100's. The 6/100's go, supposedly, to the Board of Education.

The men purchasing the tax-gathering right, are called *Multezim*.

Each year now, the Government sells the right to the highest bidder. An official sits at the Government door during two weeks. He daily announces the prices of the villages and asks who will give more, when a higher price is offered than the previous year the bargain is made, the purchaser giving the amount or security for it. The village is then announced as struck. Thus year after year the taxation of the village is raised. Twenty years ago the tax was only one-third of the present rate. Now that the people are poorer and the *Multezim* cannot make such good profit from the villagers, the Government has begun to sell the villages to the villagers themselves. Rather than suffer by the *Multezims* they pay the highest prices ever paid. Lately the Government has been appointing as *Multezims* those who have claims against the Government. As it is against Government principles to pay, if it can help it, a village or two or three are sold to settle the claim and this leads to tyranny and robbery under the guise of taxation. The methods followed savour of times of the dark ages and sometimes are of indescribable barbarity.

Villages like Kavash and Shattack which cannot be sold at high price are sold by pressure of the Government to the villagers themselves.

*Methods of Tax Gathering*—I now proceed to give particulars as to methods employed by tax gatherers.

All wheat is measured in special measures by special measurers. The fixed tax is thus obtained. No farmer dare thrash his wheat until the man owning the taxes or his representative arrives. It is often stacked for days, soaked with rain, attacked by flocks of birds. In spite of losses, the  $\frac{1}{8}$ th is sure to be taken. The 6/100's is always according to guess. This is done by filling the hands and generally much more than the 6/100's is taken. Some products cannot be measured,



*e.g.*, grapes, fruits, vegetables, linen flaxplant. The tax on these is fixed according to the pleasure and conscience of the Multezim, *e.g.*, suppose a man has a vineyard, a Multezim enters and looking it over says he thinks 500 batmans may be gathered. He taxes it accordingly. The yield may prove to be only 100 batmans. If a man is poor, and without influence, the Multezim of a Turk or a Kurd may have 2, 4, 5, 8 or even  $\frac{1}{4}$ th, of a man's crop. Impossible you say. Not at all in Turkey, it happens often. If the vineyard does not produce the batmans required, then the man must actually go out and buy more or pay the equivalent in money.

With such conditions, not many care to undertake to cultivate vineyards, vegetables, *e.g.*, potatoes, turnips, onions, melons, etc., gardens or vines. It costs him too much. In many places, this past year Armenians have actually uprooted and burned as fuel valuable vineyards because they are so fearful of this excessive tax.

Of late the Multezim has added another burden. He transports his produce at the expense also of the tax-payer. Not only does the farmer pay the tax, but he is forced to transport it when paid. The Multezim usually paid his own board bill, while collecting taxes. Now he often makes the villagers keep him, and furnish free all his supplies. Often at the close of harvest the Multezim suddenly arrives with zabtiehs or soldiers to enforce the payment of unpaid taxes. Then he is sure to live, and the soldiers with him, at the expense of the villagers, who to get rid of him pay as quickly as they can.

*Land Tax.*—Each field, garden, house, and shop have their own tax. If the appraiser is a friend of yours he makes it low, if not you seldom enter your house, but you think of the taxes.

Should appraisers value your property too high, you can appeal to Government and other appraisers are appointed, but they too must have their bribe.

Values have decreased greatly since the massacres, because of the unsettled conditions and fear of attack, but the valuation in the Government lists has not changed.

The land tax is  $\frac{5}{1,000}$ 's of its value. On a house or shop  $\frac{5}{100}$ 's of its rent.

Every Christian male child is bound to pay forty piastres gold per annum from birth to death. According to law, a man is not a man until he is 16, or after he is 75, and he is exempt from tax, but the community must pay it, town or village. Every child when born must be enrolled. The Government demands the 40 piastres. \* If possible the parents try to conceal the birth or keep their boys until 20 or 30 years of age or longer if possible without being registered or paying. When it is discovered, the Government then demands all the unpaid tax from the villagers or community. When family feuds occur it frequently happens one villager will go and betray another—that they have a child unregistered. Sometimes this leads to the discovery of a number of others. Then the taxes of all so discovered are laid upon the community, distributed according to the number of married men and women in the village.

The amount of taxes upon a village is never decreased even though the population has.

Each year a census is made, and great care taken that no newly-born children can be hidden.

Land taxes are always gathered from the man whose name is registered as owner. Even if he emigrates and the soil be relinquished by him and cultivated by another who as usurper pays him nothing—the community must then pay the tax. There are villages where the entire population has emigrated, forced to do so by the attacking Kurds and still the taxes are forced out of the emigrating villagers. Villagers get neither the products nor the land if a Kurd has taken possession.

Boghaz Kessan is a good example of such a village, Kurds devastated it and forced the villagers to flee. Now Kurds till and care for the soil. Some Kurds and Armenian revolutionists had a quarrel, the Armenians killed several Kurdish chiefs who had surrounded the village with a hundred or more men. There were only fifteen Armenians with twenty boys against the 100 Kurds. When the Armenians found themselves surrounded they resolved to throw open the doors—make a rush and fight hand to hand. Several Kurdish chiefs were killed and only two Armenians; the rest escaped. So angered were the Kurds that they

destroyed and devastated the village and crops. Then they took possession and now that village, which three or four years ago was entirely Armenian, is to-day Kurdish and will never be recovered by its rightful owners.

In Hygotzor district, during the last fifty years several villages have become wholly or half Kurdish. One village has driven out all the Armenians and is entirely Kurdish. Six others are half Kurdish which were entirely Armenian. Sometimes they oblige the Armenians to sell their lands under penalties and threats or intimidation. Generally the Kurds make the price very low. In many cases they have only seized the land, and in course of years have been looked upon as the rightful owners.

Sheep and goats are taxed after their second year.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  piastres (9 annas) sheep,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  piastres (7 annas) goats. Special officers are sent annually to count the sheep. The Kurds will not permit them to count more than a quarter or a half of their sheep and goats, and Armenians try to do likewise, but the Armenians are too weak to resist the officers. The officers know they have missed many Kurdish sheep, so they add on to the Armenians the number they think they have missed, charging a man with a hundred and twenty when he has but one hundred.

If they discover a man hiding his sheep they double the count. Cattle were not taxed until this past year. By a new law each ox or cow or buffalo is taxed 10 piastres (22 annas), whether it is valued at 40 or 400 piastres, the tax is the same.

This adds another great burden to the already over-taxed Armenian. Since the massacres almost all Armenians have had to run in debt to the Mahomedans, in order to get a home for their family and stock of seeds, utensils, or merchandise to trade with. This animal tax has forced many Armenians to mortgage their cattle in the hope they will have a good crop and be able to redeem them. This is virtually impossible, and if not, will be made so in many cases. They cannot sow more wheat or grain than they can plough and harvest, or they lose it. This year many will lose their animals which they mortgaged, because the crops were not good on account of drought, and of course without their animals they cannot do as much ploughing. They can only try to eke out a

bare existence, and lose the rest of their property for non-payment of taxes, and in this sure and certain way the country is becoming depopulated.

During this past year a new law has been promulgated dealing with the methods of tax gathering.

Two collectors are appointed by the Government, for each village or ward. They are called Tahslatchgi. They collect the taxes in three or four instalments. Formerly the different kinds of taxes, personal, land, income, interest, property, animal, were collected separately and separate receipts were given by the Government. Zabtiehs or soldiers always accompanied the collectors to help, should force or pressure be necessary. These zabtiehs and collectors lived at the expense of the community. They came uninvited, fixed themselves comfortably upon the poor villagers, oftentimes for many days, occupying the school-room and disbanding the school if no house is good enough for them, and they would go on to the next village to do likewise, when the spirit moves them. Now by the new law the collectors get their salaries from the Government and are commanded to live at their own expense. The new law does not grant permission to exert pressure or cause insult to the tax-payers. Nor are they to use zabtiehs or soldiers to aid in the collecting. The law also commands that they are to ask no extras from the villagers while collecting. If a man does not or cannot pay his taxes, they are to notify the Government at the end of the year. The Government Tax Department has the right then to seize and sell his property for taxes. Thus Turkey does try to do the right, as you can see, by these different changes in the methods of tax collecting.

Now let us see how this last law is enforced. In the larger towns or cities, the head of the zabtiehs, the police commissaires and policemen are given the right to collect the taxes directly from the people. They exact the tax money, or else subject the tax-payer to all kinds of indignities, insults, going so far as flogging and imprisoning them, *e. g.*, while in Sert I made a contract with a carpenter to build a shelter on a kellick or raft on which I expected to travel down the Tigris, from Til to Mosul and Baghdad. After all was completed in the contract, and I thought the man well on his way with the work, word was sent

to me that my carpenter was under arrest for taxes, 4 medgids or 72 piastres. Would I please pay this for him and charge it against his account? My curiosity and interest were aroused, and thinking it might not be just as represented I went to see the man. I found him a prisoner, in his own house, a black soldier detaining him, and the man showing plainly his great distress.

Knowing the Commissaire of Police, who had called on me and spent the afternoon with me on the previous day, I ventured to see him and ordered the policeman and the man to accompany me to the Serai, or Government headquarters. Then I stated my case, the great inconvenience to me of being thus delayed and asked if they could not wait until the work was done and then when the man was paid collect it from him. The Commissaire informed me the best thing to do was to pay the man's tax or otherwise he would be imprisoned. Now both Binbashi and the Police Commissaire wanted the money. The Commissaire wanted to retain it and the Binbashi said that if he did he would still have the man imprisoned, so the former relinquished his claim as I was there, and the man was liberated,—but neither of them would give me, nor the man, a receipt, saying it was not their custom. The man assured me that he had already paid his taxes three times over, having many with him to prove it, but each time they refused to give him a receipt.

Again while I was calling on the Dominican Fathers, officers called to collect a tax from the brother of a man who was absent from the country. The brother declared that his own taxes were all paid and that he could not be responsible for his brother not even knowing where he was. It availed nothing, however. He was roughly seized and hurried to the Binbashi, only the intervention of the Dominican Fathers saved him from prison.

Another case in this same town was that of a man who was returning from church. His taxes were demanded. Not being able to comply he was seized, imprisoned, and then beaten so badly that he was compelled to keep his bed four days, lose his work, and have his family suffer the consequent deprivation, for they lived from hand to mouth.

Another case will suffice. A man whose family and antecedents I know well, was collector last year in his own ward before this last law was enacted. Long after his term had expired, and his successors appointed, a certain Turkish officer whom I know personally commanded him to collect taxes, because having had the experience he knew better where to find men, also because of his influence as he was a good and just man, he could gather more successfully. The collectors' salaries had not been paid, and there being no money available in the treasury they adopted this method. The Turkish official had no authority to command this man to do this work, and that too without salary, but fearing to offend, he obeyed. The collecting was the more severe because the highest official needed money. His salary had not been paid. He gave permission therefore to the commander of the zabtiehs to collect in this manner, thus this man neglected his own work to attend to this business which he was not authorized to do, and so offensive did this unremunerative work become, that being found by this Turkish official, he was cruelly beaten for not bringing in more money. On remonstrating with the Turk saying "I am not a tax collector, you have your collectors. I have done so much for your sake, without remuneration to show you how much I respect and honour you, now I can collect no more. I have no receipts to give the people and they demand receipts. I can collect no more." At this the official grew angry. He whipped and kicked him, and then imprisoned him for twelve hours. From morning until evening he had nothing to eat and he was only liberated on condition that he would bring more money. Thus protestations were of no avail.

While I was at Bitlis, the festival of Corban Byram happened. The officials wanted their salaries. The treasury was empty. What was to be done? They sent police to summon the wealthy Armenian and Kurdish gentlemen before them, and on their arrival a demand was made that they pay various sums from 100—500 paistres on account of next year's taxes. No one dared refuse their demands, so these amounts were paid and no receipt given. In such cases, three or four years afterwards, these taxes are sure to be demanded again.

In the villages it is even more severe. From two to ten horse-men go to a village to collect the tax. The law says only two. Sometimes before they even give their salutations to the head of the village they begin with curse and insult, incensing the villagers by lashing all they meet with their whips. If the listener is not silent or sufficiently meek to suit them, kicking and beating follow.

The officer finding fault with them exclaims, "Why has not the head of this village paid the tax to the Government without giving me the trouble of coming for it, or why is it not larger. They demand the best provision, room, rugs, and bed the village can afford, even if it be the living room of some family, or the village school-room. Often the village is very poor, and the people provide the best they have, going without bedding themselves. It is not necessary here to name the specific villages. This is the law of the land, the common experience to-day of almost every village. Villages without such experiences would assuredly be happy exceptions. Generally the soldiers upon this work buy themselves very lank horses. During the season of this expedition, they try to have their horses so well fed, at the expense of the villagers that they become quite fat and a good investment and they demand twice as much barley as is necessary and plenty of grass so that the horses may gorge themselves. Also a servant must be provided for each horse to watch and attend it, with chickens for each man with plenty of butter, eggs, and cheese.

The villagers entertain their uninvited guests in turn. They are obliged to do this even if they have not sufficient food for their own family. It is surprising to see how villagers, who live on plain dry bread and cheese will provide chickens, bulgur, eggs, and butter, etc., for ten soldiers. His capital is his land and his muscle, and when he has consumed all the produce of the year for the urgent demands of Government he is forced to go in debt. He binds himself to do this, paying double the amount at the close of the next harvest. These debts ruin him in course of time, *e.g.*, he will go to a wealthy Agha, because Armenians are too poor to lend him the money and say, "Give me twenty medgids and I will give you two chops of wheat at the end of harvest." This bargain is called a *salaf*. He has

contracted to give at 10 piastres, but wheat is selling at from twenty-five to thirty or if the normal selling value is forty piastres, then a salaf is fifteen. He raises say fifty chops of wheat, *i.e.*, about a hundred bushels, gives forty or more to pay his debts and finds that for seeding and feeding, after all his hard season's toil, he has not enough for his household. He knows he has tilled all the ground his strength will permit and now his luxury is wheat bread once in a while, his family being dependent upon barley bread, or even more inferior grain. When one realizes the hand to mouth conditions of the country, that the ploughs and farming implements are of most primitive character, that no large areas can be cultivated, having no machinery, a superabundance sown would be beyond their capacity to handle and you begin to see and learn the conditions and difficulties. Besides, should the Government learn that he had raised a large quantity, it would demand a much larger portion, so that he has no incentive to work harder. To his credit be it said, the average Armenian farmer and villager, toils early and late, is a hard working man who ever works in the face of tremendous difficulty, and any nation might be proud of him as an emigrant and artizan because of his industry, patience, and submissive spirit. I know of a widow in Mashkadagh who was obliged to give to a zabtieh the last hen she possessed. Its eggs were all she had in addition to her dry bread. The villagers of Ghem gave nearly four hundred chickens between last spring and autumn to the tax collectors. They kept all the heads of the chickens in bags and afterwards counted them to see what their tax collectors had cost them. Kuzzeldash in a small village in the same district. There are only six houses which could possibly entertain guests. These houses have given, during the same period, fifty chops of barley to the horses of the collectors, and cheese, butter, bread, and eggs in like quantity. If the zabtiehs are drinkers they demand raki also, if not the villagers are to prepare tea. Besides this they often demand stockings and halters which the women constantly make, as the natives almost always walk in their stocking feet. These things are taken freely without payment. There was a time when a visit from a Kurd Bey or prominent Agha to a village meant



the supplying of the best of everything for their entertainment. After all this, the villagers made them a present of a sum of money called *dish keraşy* from *dish*—a tooth and *kira*—rent—tooth rent which was to pay them for the trouble of eating or lending their gums to eat native food. All these things the taxpayers have to endure before they even pay their taxes. All the debtors are brought forth—men, women, or boys, whoever is responsible, to face the zabtiehs, taxes are demanded; if not forthcoming, they are seized and publicly beaten. Only two or three men in a village have ready money. The rest stand before the zabtiehs pale and perplexed. Then the cursing begins, setting aside all modesty or shame they curse as they are accustomed to do, mother, wife, maiden, mouth, and religion. This is done in Turkish or Kurdish. If this process will not eke out the money, then flogging follows. This process is often seen and consists in the zabtieh seizing a man by the head and banding his body down, until the back of the person is presented to the flogger, who heeds not the cry nor the pleading for mercy. No one dares to interfere, and at last the victim often falls exhausted and bleeding to the ground. Sometimes they tie him to a post and pour cold water over him before flogging. Again they often tie their feet and hang them head down, suspended from the rafters of their houses.

This is the official method usually administered to two or three of the villagers, while the others they slap on the cheeks as they send them away with threats of much worse treatment in the future if the taxes are not forthcoming.

These are the everyday happenings, and the zabtieh engaged in the work are proud of their own courage, strength and ability to do such work well, according to their own ideas, for often their victims lie for days in bed because of their flogging.

Here is a specific case. A man of monks named Bedros was the servant or *Kużir* of the village. He was the one man always appointed to wait upon visitors or strangers. He was severely beaten and, after several days of severe illness in bed, died.

Again Mahmoud Effendi, the official Collector of Huntzar, in 1903 flogged so severely Res Apgar, *i.e.*, Apgar head of the village in the village Koshk, that the man lost the sight of both

eyes from the blows inflicted upon his head. He was treated at a missionary hospital where his sight was partially restored. He protested several times to the Government, but no heed was paid, and the man who did it is still unpunished and an official in office. I could continue these stories through many chapters, bringing events to date even to the last mail received. I could tell you of heroic deaths of husbands and wives where a husband would murder his wife and then kill himself rather than submit her body to the base men who demanded her. Now these demands are so common and the occurrences so frequent, that some of the villages have been forced to accede to the demands of these tax collectors.

Is it any wonder that human nature rebels and such a country furnishes revolutionists? In this short article I have stated facts, which I know, from personal experience to be absolutely true. I leave my readers to draw their own conclusions.

A FRIEND OF ARMENIA.

### Art. III.—THE OFFICE OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

THE office of Governor-General of India is the highest and most responsible in the British Empire in India and is one of the few great offices in the world. It has been well called the "Imperial appointment, which is the greatest honour England has to give, except the Government of herself" (cf. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II p. 270); and English statesmen of all but the very highest rank consider it a prize to accept "the splendid offer of the most magnificent governorship in the world" (Theodore Walford, *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin*, p. 395, 1872). Its occupant "is at the head of one of the colossal governments of the world," as that profound philosopher and jurist, Sir Henry Maine, said after personal experience as a colleague (*Life and Speeches of Maine*, p. 377); and he sways for the time being the destinies of three hundred millions of human beings or about a fifth part of the population of the globe, and he can do much to make or mar their happiness. A good Governor-General has unrivalled opportunities of doing good possessed by any single individual, and that good can be of a lasting nature by boldly initiating and settling once for ever a beneficent policy fraught with advantages to millions unborn in his time, like Lord William Bentinck. Even a temporary incumbent of it can do a great and good act memorable in history, of which I feel the good effects at the distance of seventy years, like the granting of the freedom of the Press by Metcalfe. He did that noble act at the expense of not being confirmed in his office; but what can a few years of office, even though it be this splendid one, matter to him who has obtained the imperishable meed of fame at the hands of posterity for this one deed done in a few months? There are indeed some checks to his power imposed by the wholesome fear of leaving too much to one person. He cannot change the main and broad lines of policy according to which India should be governed by England. That is wisely left to Parliament which is jealous of any fundamental departure from that policy which is

essentially based on a high moral sense of right and wrong, and of the responsibility before God of the English people for the well-being and good government of its subject peoples in India.

But within these limits, the Governor-General has a very wide latitude and great freedom of action in carrying out this policy. Much more depends on how this policy is carried out in practice than on its nature. Of course from the fundamentally bad policy, like the autocratic one of Russia to its subject peoples in Europe and Asia, much cannot be expected in practice ; though even that when skilfully and mercifully carried out can effect some good. On the other hand the policy of the French Republic towards its colonies and their people is liberal enough on paper, and in some respects superior to the English in theory. Actually in its working, however, this policy has far from satisfactory results, and its Colonial Empire does very much less for its peoples than the Indian Empire. This is chiefly for the want of able men in France to carry out her liberal policy. France has been well called the great workshop of civilisation in which all its instruments have been forged which other nations use with so much success. France is the laboratory in which political experiments are made so much to her own cost and very often to her ruin, but to the advantage of her neighbours. England is the neighbour that has profited most by the experiments and failures of France. She has adopted the brilliant ideas of imaginative Frenchmen and carried them out with a dogged energy peculiarly her own, but which the French people have always lacked. The Indian Empire is a splendid instance and illustration of this. The original idea of founding a European Empire on the ruins of the Moghul power in India first struck a brilliant Frenchman, the famous but ill-starred Dupleix, when the English scarcely looked beyond their counters and were very happy and contented if they made profits over their transactions with the natives in pepper and calico. He very nearly succeeded in executing that idea and in founding a French Empire in India. But he was balked of the prize due to his brilliant conception. Clive borrowed Dupleix's idea and succeeded. And he succeeded by borrowing

the very means of success from Dupleix. The idea of raising an army of sepoys to fight the white man's battles was originally his. He failed, but Clive and the English executed the idea splendidly, and they not only conquered the whole of India by means of their sepoy army but in time even went forth beyond its limits with that army into Afghanistan and Persia, Burma and China, even to Arabia and Abyssinia (cf. Sir J. Seeley, *Expansion of England*, pp. 199-202).

Thus has France shown the way to England in the East by her fertile mind and exuberant imagination. She unfortunately has stood still all the while that her rival has advanced, like the sign-post that points the way to travellers and itself remains stationary. She has been the Moses leading Israel to the promised land. But the English have like Joshua entered it and enjoyed the heritage. They have improved upon the lesson which they originally learnt from France. In the art of governing subject peoples of different races and creeds they have shown a remarkable aptitude unrivalled by any other modern nation and paralleled in the history of the world by the Romans alone. To the theory of that art they have made little contribution. What little of it they required they took from others. The English are not a people who deduce their practice from theory. I have rather to generalise the theory from their practice of generations. They do not care for theoretical perfection. They do not start with it, but arrive at something like it after generations of practical experience and it may be, of floundering through blunder. The English Constitution as it is at present is considered the best mode of government in which order and progress are duly balanced, and the fullest liberty of thought and action secured to the subject without degenerating into license. But that constitution is the result of the growth of ages, of the practical wisdom of generations reached through follies, blunders, even crimes. The history of English institutions is not a record of perfection of principles nicely laid down and smoothly worked out. On the contrary it is very often a record of human errors, of folly mistaken for wisdom, of pitfalls and stumbles till the right thing that is wanted is at last reached. It is a lesson in the evolution of

truth out of error, of right out of wrong. The true and the right thing in politics is, it seems, not a matter of intention, but arrived at after a laborious and lengthy course of wading and floundering through error and wrong. And this long course has its value. Things that are obtained after long struggles are valued highly and not lightly to be parted with but prized as a precious and costly heritage which it has taken ages to obtain.

The truth of what I have said about English institutions will be found verified in the particular institution which I purpose to examine historically in the present article. The institution of the Governor-Generalship is the growth of more than a century of English political observation and experience. It did not spring like Minerva completely armed from Jupiter's head; but is the result of evolution in which former blunders were slowly eliminated, of means taken and adapted to new ends as they arose. The Governor-Generalship was first created by the Regulating Act of 1773, the first piece of legislation by which the English Parliament asserted its right and performed its duty of intervening in the administration of India. The East India Company had come to acquire the kingdoms, as they were called, of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and its affairs had now assumed a distinctly different aspect from that of trade alone. The British territories in India consisted, at this time of the three Presidencies, of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Each of these was independent under its Governor, and each pursued its course without subordination or even reference to the other two. This gave rise to various anomalies, as each Presidency pursued its own policy without reference to the general policy. As long as they had purely local affairs to look to this did not matter much. But when the English came into collision and contact with the native powers on all sides, the need was felt of controlling such relations by a central authority. The Agency by which this was attempted to be done was borrowed by the English from the French. The Governor-General that was first appointed by the English by the Regulating Act of 1773 as superior to the Governors of Madras and Bombay was already existing as an institution in the French Indies. In the very beginning of the eighteenth century the French had found the need for controlling

their factories in various parts of India, and accordingly appointed the Director of their factory at Pondicherry Governor-General over all other factories. "Letters patent had been issued by which the Superior Council of the Indies, as it was called, was transferred from Surat to Pondicherry, and this place was made the seat of the Director or Governor-General with supreme authority over the French factories in any part of India. Almost immediately afterwards Martin was appointed President of the Supreme Council and Director-General or Governor-General of French affairs in India, by letters patent signed by Louis XIV, in February 1701." (Mallison, *History of the French in India*, p. 35.) There were Governors-General even before this of the Portuguese and the Dutch in the East Indies. But the English had the French office in view when they made the appointment, especially as everything French was then in fashion in England and as they had entered upon the French heritage in India upon the downfall of their greatest statesmen in the East Dupleix and the tragic fate of Lally—"nearly the most unfortunate and worst used man of genius I ever read of" according to Carlyle (*History of Frederick the Great*, Vol. VIII, p. 223).

Warren Hastings, who was already Governor of Fort William, that is of the Bengal Presidency, was created the first Governor-General, "a title substituted," says Sir James Stephen, "for that of Governor in order to mark the superiority given to Bengal over the other presidencies." (*Nuncomar and Impey*, Vol. I, page 16.) The other two Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were rendered subordinate to that of Bengal whose supremacy was declared by the Regulating Act. "The Governor-General and Council were to have power of superintending and controlling the government and management of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, so far and in so much as that it should not be lawful for any Government of the minor presidencies to make any orders for commencing hostilities or declaring or making war against any Indian princes or powers, or for negotiating or concluding any treaty with any such prince or power without the previous consent of the Governor-General and Council, except in such cases of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone

such hostilities or treaties until the arrival of their orders, and except also in cases where special orders had been received from the Company. A President and Council offending against these provisions might be suspended by order of the Governor-General and Council. The Governors of the minor presidencies were to obey the order of the Governor-General and Council, and constantly and dutifully to transmit to them advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters relating to the Government, revenues or interest of the Company." (Sir Courtenay Ilbert, *Government of India*, p. 147-8.)

Along with the Governor-General four members of his Council were named and nominated by the Act with whose advice and co-operation he was to act in all matters of State. The supreme power was not given to the Governor-General but to the Governor-General and Council. All matters were to be decided by the majority of the Council, so that three Councillors could outvote the Governor-General. He was merely *primus inter pares*, and had no authority over his colleagues who were his equals. There was, in fact, not one Governor-General but five, and the office was held in commission by these. This indeed was an anomaly, which it is difficult to understand was not foreseen. The fact is the Act was passed in great haste and hurried through Parliament in a few weeks. "Many of the opposition had not then come to town. Upon a division late at night, and not a very thin House, the Bill was carried by a majority of more than five to one, the numbers being 153 to 28 only. The Bill was presented the next day to the House of Lords, and it being so near the holidays was carried through with the greatest despatch. As the Bill was brought in on a Saturday, and a report was spread in the evening and inserted in the newspapers that it had been carried that day through its last reading (a matter, however uncommon, which was readily believed) the India Company had not time to go through the necessary forms, for assembling in its corporate capacity, and framing and presenting a petition, before the following Wednesday on which it was finally passed." (*Annual Register* for 1773, Vol. XVI, p. 81.) Thus writes the contemporary chronicler of the debates and the passage of the Bill through Parliament,



supposed to be Burke (*vide* Sir J. Stephen, *op cit.* Vol. I., p. 13). This Act also created a Supreme Court of Justice for Bengal, which was established by charter from the King next year.

The salary and the term of office of the Governor-General were fixed by this Act, and both remain the same to this day. Before this date the salaries of the Company's servants were extremely small, though their indirect profits from trade were enormous besides other illegal perquisites. "In the early part of the eighteenth century a 'writer' after five years' residence in India, received £10 a year, and the salaries of the higher ranks were on the same scale. Thus a member of Council had £80 a year. When Thomas Pitt was appointed Governor of Madras in 1698 he received £300 a year for salary and allowance, and £100 for outfit." (Ilbert, *Ibid*, p. 44 n.) But liberal salaries were now provided and a great temptation to corruption removed. The Governor-General was to have annually £25,000; and this sum has not been altered during all these hundred and thirty years, though the purchasing power of money has gone down considerably and this sum represents far less now than in 1773. Warren Hastings and his four councillors were named in the Act and were to hold office for five years and were not removable in the meantime except by the King on the representation of the Court of Directors. At the end of the five years the patronage of appointing to these offices of Governor-General and Councillors was to be vested in the Company. "It is believed," remarks Sir Courtenay Ilbert, "that this temporary exactment is the origin of the custom under which the tenure of the more important offices in India, such as those of Governor-General, Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Member of Council is limited to five years. The limitation is not imposed by statute or by the instrument of appointment, only by custom." (*Government of India*, p. 47 n.) The usual term of the Governor-General's office is even now five years, though some have held it for a longer term, like the Marquis of Wellesley who held it for seven years, the Marquis of Hastings for nine and a half years, Lord William Bentinck for six years and the Marquis of Dalhousie for eight. Warren Hastings' term was renewed at the end of five years in 1778 and again in 1783.

The above-mentioned Governors-General too got at the end of their first five years a renewed term. And Lord Curzon too has recently been appointed again for a fresh term in order to enable him to conclude some brilliant reforms which he had initiated.

There were many anomalies about the Governor-Generalship in the Regulating Act which were soon found out in practice, and the succeeding Acts did much to remove them. I have shown that its powers were much restricted by the Councilors whose majority was essential to the passing of every order. The violent disputes of Warren Hastings with Sir Philip Francis and the other members of his Council which continuously overruled him, brought this defect in the Act into prominent notice within a decade after its enactment. It is curious that the same anomaly existed in the system of administration for India by the Portuguese in their palmy days and was purposely introduced into it in order to check the great power of Portuguese Viceroys. But it was found, practically to check it in a way that was injurious to the best interests of the State. The English might have learnt this from their Portuguese predecessors in India; but it is in keeping with their insular indifference to the political experience of other nations, and the want of system and theory in their methods, that they either did not know or ignored the experience of the Portuguese in India. "The limitation of the power of the Viceroys to the short space of three years," says a German historian of Portuguese India, "was not the only measure of the Portuguese Government for diminishing their seemingly formidable influence. A council was associated with the Viceroy, which was to be consulted on all occasions of any importance, and without the approval of this body nothing decisive could be done. Even under the vice-regency of the great Albuquerque, I find frequent mention of a council composed of the principal officers, without whose approval he could do nothing of importance. The same body is often alluded to under the Governments of his successors and I am informed that the irresolution of this Council caused the miscarriage of many of the most useful measures. It was seldom that a Viceroy was gifted with the courage of an

Albuquerque or a Joao de Castro, who more than once ventured on the perilous step of doing what they judged to be for the advantage of the public, in spite of the opposition made by the Council, and indeed it was fortunate for them that the beneficial results justified a proceeding so contrary to the rules of the Portuguese Government. By far the greater number of Viceroys were too much devoted to their own interests even to dream of incurring a responsibility for the public good. In the year 1551 when Alfonso de Noronha was appointed Viceroy, we find a first account of a formal council, consisting of ten or twelve persons chosen by the Government, whose advice the Viceroy was to follow on all occasions, even when he did not approve of it." (Saalfeld, *Geschichte des Portugiesischen Kolonialwesens in Ostindien*, pp. 243-5, quoted by Sir George C. Lewis, *Government of Dependencies*, pp. 381-2, Oxford, ed. 1891 by Lucas.)

This grave defect was remedied when the next Governor-General was sent out to succeed Warren Hastings. Lord Cornwallis insisted before he could accept the office that he should not be in the same anomalous and subordinate position with regard to his Council. Accordingly an Act was passed in 1786 which amended the previous Act of 1773, which gave the Governor-General the right to override his Council in certain cases of extraordinary importance, he himself to determine, what cases were such, after exchanging written explanations with the members of the Council. "The practical result of this measure," says Sir George Chesney, to whose valuable treatise everyone is bound to refer, who writes on any part of the Indian Administrative machinery, "which has continued in force ever since, was to render the power of the Governor-General supreme. The councillors subsided from the position of active members of one executive board into the subordinate one of witnessing and occasionally advising on the proceedings of their President." (*Indian Polity*, p. 20.) Thus the principle that the Governor-General was supreme over his Council and could singly in opposition to its members carry important measures was clearly enounced; and its legal enunciation was enough to silence henceforward all such disputes between him and his Council which caused so much scandal and imperilled

the State under Warren Hastings. Instances have been rare when the Governor-General has used his powers of overriding his Council, the only one in recent history being that of Lord Lytton, who, in 1879 in opposition to the majority of his Council, partially abolished the Indian import duty on English cotton goods, on the advice of his Finance Minister, Sir John Strachey. (Strachey, *India*, p. 44, 105.) By the Act of 1793 this important change in the position of the Governor-General with respect to his Council was recognised explicitly and the style of the Indian Government became not as before, "the Governor-General and Council," but "the Governor-General in Council." This is tersely explained by the late Sir George Campbell. "The Council are consulted and an executive order is made in their presence and with their knowledge, but not necessarily with their consent." (*Modern India*, p. 210, ed. 1853.)

But though the Governor-General is in the last instance supreme, he is bound to act on all occasions in accordance with the opinions of his Council. In 1784 the number of the Councillors was reduced to three and the Commander-in-Chief was to be one of them, thus leaving only two members of the Bengal Civil Service in the Council. This number was gradually increased to five, and there is a proposal now before Parliament to appoint a sixth member. By the Act of 1793 the appointment of the Commander-in-Chief to the Council was permissive instead of obligatory as in 1784. But in practice the Commander-in-Chief is always appointed a member of the Council, and is called an "Extraordinary" Member. (*Ilbert*, p. 182.) In 1833 two more ordinary members to the two already existing were added, one of whom was to be an Indian Civilian and the other was to be an English lawyer appointed from England for legislative purposes. In 1861 a fifth member was added, who took charge of the finances which had become very important, and who need not be a member of the Indian Civil Service. Already in 1859 there was found such a need of a good financier trained in England in the Council, that James Wilson was appointed fourth member instead of a lawyer and this course was again taken on the death of Wilson when

Samuel Laing came out to succeed him in the following year. But in 1861 by legislation the Law member was restored in addition to the financial member. Soon there will be a sixth member added to the Council, as new legislation to that effect has been introduced into the present Parliament.\*

An important change was made in the Council in 1861, not indeed in its legal constitution, but in its mode of working and the distribution of its work which has increased its importance and rather diminished the Governor-General's power not in theory but in practice, as Lord Lawrence complained, under whom it was fully carried out. The Act of 1861 empowered the Governor-General to make rules for the transaction of business in his Council, and Lord Canning availed himself of it to make rules which "virtually converted his Council into a Cabinet of which the Governor-General was the head." (Strachey, *India*, p. 42.) By these rules which are in force at the present day, each member of the Council was placed in charge of a separate department of the administration.

The members of Council are now virtually Cabinet Ministers, each of whom has charge of one or more of the great departments of the Government. Their ordinary duties are those of administrators rather than of Councillors. The Governor-General regulates the manner in which the public business shall be distributed among them." (Strachey, *India*, p. 43.) Thus with the establishment of the departmental responsibility of members of Council, the work of the Governor-General is somewhat lightened, but his power is somewhat weakened. The biographer of Lord Lawrence, under whom this change fully came to work, thus speaks of it in a complaining and depreciative tone: "The remodelling of the Supreme Council had given the Governor-General a 'semblance† of a Cabinet of his own.' I say the *semblance*; for strange as it may seem to those who judge by the analogy of the Cabinet at home, the Governor-General was unable—indeed

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\* This law has been passed and a Sixth Member for Commerce and Trade has taken his seat in Council since March of the present year.

† The words 'the semblance of a Cabinet' occur in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1867, on the "Foreign Policy of Lord Lawrence, by that gifted civilian, F. W. Wyllie." (Reprinted in his "External Policy of India," ed., W. W. Hunter, p. 2.)

he had always been unable—either to appoint or dismiss a single member of his Council without leave being first given from England. Each member of Council was, of course, entitled to have a hearing before any important measure was decided on, and the collective weight of the whole was such that it was difficult for the Viceroy, except on rare occasions, to overrule its opposition. Thus while the dignity of Governor-General was as great or greater than it had ever been, his power, as Sir John Lawrence soon found, and often bitterly complains, was by no means commensurate with it." (Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II., p. 293.)

The complaint of Lawrence that his power as Governor-General was not quite commensurate with his dignity seems to be somewhat exaggerated. There was a good deal of friction between him and some members of his Council, especially Sir Henry Durand, whom he accuses of being factious and overbearing.\* Probably the fact that he was an Indian civilian and the knowledge by the members that he had risen from the ranks and had been one of themselves, accounted for their somewhat scant respect for his opinions and consequent friction. He gave way to his feelings rather than to his judgment, which was usually very sober and sedate, when he wrote as follows to Sir Stafford Northcote, afterwards Lord Iddesleigh, at that time Secretary of State: "But what I do feel is that the

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\* In a letter to the Secretary of State he thus strongly expresses himself with regard to Sir Henry Durand: "I was instrumental in Sir Henry Durand getting his seat in Council. . . . Nevertheless ever since he entered it I have had difficulties in managing matters with him. He is so unbending, so acrimonious that it is very hard to work with him. He took a disagreeable line towards me in the Oude tenure question and in the debate at Simla almost accused me of dealing unfairly. . . . Not a word was said which personally reflected on Durand; but he took up what I wrote in such a way that had he not subsequently withdrawn his minute, either he or I must have left the Council. Since then we are more in opposition than ever. I have known Sir Henry Durand for many years and have a sincere respect for his ability and character. But unless he can be induced to place some restraint on his bearing and writing the public must suffer. I would be very sorry indeed to do him any real harm. All I ask is that you will take some opportunity, such as the present one, in answering the official reference, to give him a hint of his duty." (Bosworth Smith, Vol. II., p. 398.) On the other hand, for Durand's defence, see his biography by his son, the present British Minister at Washington, Vol. I., p. 369 note, wherein he remarks upon the relations of Lord Lawrence with his father. See also pp. 334, etc., for Durand's view of the Viceroy's Council, *vide* II., p. 277.

Governor-General of India, nowadays, has not authority and influence which the difficulties and responsibilities of his position demand. He is expected to do great things; to control, to command, and to overcome; and it seems to me to be impossible in the nature of things that he can do this whatever may be his resolution. In practice the tendency of his subordinate rulers in high places is to resist his authority, while he has no real security of support from home. . . . The changes to which you refer as likely to occur are not likely to strengthen the Governor-General's authority. On the contrary they are pretty sure to be in the other direction. . . . I should not have done so had it not been that your letter gave me an opening for expressing my feelings on my present position." (*Bosworth Smith*, Vol. II., pp. 392-3.) Lawrence's successor did not find it so difficult to manage his Council, though it must be remembered that there was no instance under his rule or that of Lord Mayo of the actual setting aside of the Council's opinions and the Governor-General using the power ultimately given him by law of overriding his Council. Both had a majority in their power, but Lawrence had the greater trouble in securing it. Personal influence had probably much to do with this. "His personal influence," says Lord Mayo's biographer, the late Sir W. W. Hunter, "here stood him in good stead. In most matters he managed to avoid an absolute taking of votes, and by little compromises won the dissentient members to acquiesce. In great questions he almost invariably obtained a substantial majority, or put himself at the head of it; and under his rule the Council was never for a moment allowed to forget that the Viceroy retained the constitutional power, however seldom exercised, of deciding by his single will the action of his Government. In hotly debated cases, when the matter came up in the meeting of the Council, Lord Mayo generally tried, by explanations or judicious compromises, to reduce the opposition to one or two Members, and these might either yield or dissent." (*Life of Lord Mayo*, Vol. I., pp. 191-5.)

I have dilated at some length on the relation of the Governor-General to his Council because it is very important when I consider his powers to note the checks placed by law

upon them. The Council is a check, and a wholesome one, placed upon the sole unrestricted authority in India of the Governor-General in all ordinary matters. That this check should not operate when grave matters of State are to be decided, the law has wisely ordained, as I have shown, and the Council is either silent or overridden. That this check should not degenerate into factious opposition in ordinary cases is safeguarded by what Sir W. W. Hunter well calls "the capacity for loyally yielding after a battle that makes the English talent for harmonious colonial rule." (*Life of Mayo*, Vol. I., p. 198.)

We must now turn to another wholesome change made in the power of the Governor-General as originally constituted by the Regulating Act of 1773. I have shown that he was created mainly in order to control the affairs of the English in India. In this Act power was given him of superintending and controlling the Government of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay as far as the waging of wars and negotiating of treaties was concerned, and these were also required "constantly and diligently to 'transmit advice and intelligence' to him. But in other matters the presidencies of Madras and Bombay were not interfered with; and they were left to determine what proceedings required to be transmitted to him and what not. Even in the case of war and peace the Bombay Government even after the Act of 1773 pursued its own course without reference to the Governor-General and in contravention of his wishes. The Mahratta War of 1775-82 miscarried owing to the conflict between the Government of Bombay and that of the Governor-General. The Bombay authorities made a treaty which Warren Hastings disallowed who made another agreement with the Mahrattas. The Court of Directors, however, approved of the proceedings of the former who thereupon entered again into negotiations. Thus there was great confusion. There was great want of a central controlling and guiding authority who should learn all and shape a general policy to be followed by the subordinate presidencies. Hitherto they were separate units pursuing sometimes wholly inharmonious courses and opposite aims. This was disastrously felt in the matter of external policy towards the native powers like the Mahrattas, with whom both Bombay and Bengal were fighting,



but not with a common object and united forces. The Act of 1784, known as Pitt's India Bill, remedied this defect to some extent and extended the powers of the Governor-General over the other presidencies. Power was given to control and direct these presidencies "in all such points as relate to any transactions with the country powers, or to war or peace, or to the application of the revenues or forces of such presidencies in time of war, or of any such other points as shall from time to time be specially referred by the Court of Directors of the Company to their superintendence and control." He also received power to suspend presidents and councillors of the other presidencies disobeying them, and the Governments of the latter were required to send them all needful information on matters of import and were prohibited from making war or treaties independently. (*Chesney*, p. 18.) When Cornwallis came out in 1786 he obtained additional powers and sent agents at the Courts of the Peishwa and Tipu and took over charge of military affairs in the war against the latter from the Madras Government. By the Act of 1793 the authority of the Governor-General over the other presidencies was more precisely and comprehensively defined than in any of the previous Acts. In the Act of 1833 the central control was still more definitely and distinctly asserted. "No Governor was to have power to create offices, or grant money without the previous sanction of the Governor-General of India in Council who was invested with full authority and power to superintend and control the Governors and Governors in Council of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George, Bombay and Agra, in all points relating to the civil and military administration of the said presidencies respectively. The latter were bound to obey all orders received from this authority and to furnish periodically copies of all their orders, and proceedings, and all other information called for. It is by means of the returns thus periodically supplied from this time forward that the Supreme Government is now able to exert an efficient control over Indian affairs." (*Chesney* p. 37.)

Thus was obtained by successive Acts of Parliament adequate and efficient control by the Governor-General over the local Governments in India which are no longer isolated

units each going its own way, but members of a system having a central brain and authority to guide them to one common goal. Local matters are left to be looked after by these Governments, but matters of general policy even under these Governments are under the strict control of what is well called the Supreme Government. But even in purely local matters it is sometimes necessary for it to interfere though occasions are rare for such control. Lord Lawrence interfered in the affairs of the Bombay Government when Sir Bartle Frere showed himself reckless to a fault in spending, almost wasting, public money and entering upon grand projects beyond his legitimate means for rebuilding Bombay, and when that Governor proved incapable of checking the mania for speculation that raged like wildfire in 1865 and ruined the people. (*Life of Lawrence*, Vol. II, pp. 316-20, 354 cf *Life of Bartle Frere* by Martineau, Vol. I. pp. 429-46, II. 22, 26.) It is absolutely necessary that the various Governments of India should not have independent and co-ordinate authority, but should be subject to a Supreme Government. The present harmonious aspect presented by the eleven or twelve local Governments in India under a Supreme Imperial Government is possible only under the present system which is the outcome of the slow elimination of the mistakes existing before the Act of 1773 which first tried to bring into harmony the various Governments under one central authority. It required sixty years before the system would be perfected in 1833. It is, therefore, very strange to find a statesman like John Bright wanting to go back again to the system or rather want of one existing before 1773, and recommending the creation afresh of five or six separate and perfectly independent and isolated Governments in India, in 1858. During the debates on the scheme of transferring India to the Crown from the Company after the Mutiny, he made his memorable speech in which this reactionary suggestion was seriously made. (Cf Sir Henry Maine's "India" in Ward's *Reign of Victoria*, Vol. I., p. 516.) It is so utterly devoid of political wisdom, so utterly impracticable and opposed to not only our own but the colonial experience of other colonising powers in the past, that it is difficult to conceive that a statesman of the rank of Bright could have conceived

such a proposal and seriously broached it in an assembly of practical men like the House of Commons. The speech is very eloquent like all of his speeches, but of practical wisdom I fail to see any. There is little practical wisdom and political foresight in it. Bright was so overwhelmed with the vast responsibilities of the Indian Empire and with the manifold duties its Governor-General has to perform that he was for abolishing both !

" I should propose," said he in the House of Commons in 1858, " as an indispensable preliminary to the wise government of India in future, such as would be creditable to Parliament and advantageous to the people of India, that the office of Governor-General should be abolished. I would propose that instead of having a Governor-General and an Indian Empire, we should have neither the one nor the other. I would propose that we should have presidencies and not an Empire. If I were a minister I would propose to have at least five presidencies in India, and I would have the Governments of those presidencies perfectly equal in rank and in salary. The capitals of those presidencies would probably be in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Agra, and Lahore. I will take the Presidency of Madras as an illustration. I would have its finance, its taxation, its justice and its police departments as well as its public works and military departments, precisely as if it were a State having no connection with any other part of India and recognised only as a dependency of this country. I would propose that the Government of every presidency should correspond with the Secretary for India in England." (*Speeches of John Bright*, ed., Thorold Rogers Vol., I. pp. 48-51.) It was good for India that this proposal was not seriously entertained and that Bright was not then a minister which he admitted was too bold for him to expect then ; for it would have brought matters to the almost chaotic state in which they were before 1773. The independent Presidencies which Bright would have created in 1858 already existed before 1773 ; the system which he advocated had already a trial and was found wanting. It would have thrown away all the benefit that had been gained since 1773, and thrown back the administration of Indian affairs nearly a century behind. No one since the time of Bright has been foolhardy enough to propose it ; and even Bright in his

later days when he became a minister, did not seriously bring it forward again.

If the English had looked closely into the history of their European predecessors in India they would have found the same system prevailing under the Portuguese; and if they had been accustomed to learn from history and the past experiences of others, they would have known of its injurious and weakening effects. But as I have said before the English are a practical people; they must know the evils of a system in practice themselves before they can be prevailed upon to give it up. They cannot borrow political wisdom, second hand from others. Otherwise the colonial experience of the Portuguese should have stood them in good stead in this as in other matters and saved them from a good deal of groping in the dark and floundering through blunder. The German historian of the Portuguese in India, I have already quoted above in a similar connection, makes some pertinent remarks on this subject: "Another most injudicious arrangement," says Saalfeld, "which the Kings of Portugal had very early attempted to introduce into India and by which the Portuguese power in those regions must have been seriously enfeebled, was the division of their Eastern possession into several distinct governments independent of each other. As early even as during Albuquerque's vicergerency this division was begun. In the year 1510, Emanuel the Great appointed a Governor to the Colonies on the South-Eastern Coast of Africa, whose power extended from Sofala to Cambaya, independently of the Captain-General. At about the same period, Malacca was made an independent Government. It is true the arguments advanced in Portugal in favour of this proceeding were very plausible. The principal reason was, that the vast region stretching from the Cape of Good Hope to the remotest boundaries of India was too extensive for the supervision of one individual. But even then Albuquerque took an opposite and, as the event has proved, a just view of the affair. He saw that, by thus breaking up these settlements into several governments independent of each other, no good result can be effected; but, on the contrary, that a death-blow would be given to the power of Portugal in the East. He perceived that it was only by the

union of all the Portuguese forces under one head, a union which would permit the force of the whole body to be brought in a moment to bear on any point where danger was impending—that it was possible to retain possession, the size of which was out of all proportion to their means of defence. Besides this, Albuquerque could not fail to foresee that the envy and jealousy which would inevitably arise amongst the different Governors, would in itself be quite sufficient to prevent any beneficial results. He did not, therefore, rest until he had averted the impending evil. The Portuguese Government nevertheless by no means gave up the idea, and during the vice-gerency of Albuquerque's successor, Lopez Suarez de Albergaria, fresh attempts were made to execute this favourite project, and were frequently renewed under his successors though usually without success. The project of dividing the Indian possessions into several distinct Governments was largely resumed during the reign of Sebastian. In the year 1572, when Antonio de Noronha was sent out as Viceroy to India the Indian possessions were divided into three separate governments, and Noronha, who saw the evils of that division, and rejected the demands of the Governors under different pretexts, was deposed in consequence of their accusations. Nevertheless his successor, Baretto, who had been Governor of Malacca, and had caused Noronha's recall, found himself compelled to act in the same manner towards Pereira, who succeeded him in the Governorship of Malacca; contrary to the express commands of the Court, which on this occasion did not think it necessary to assert Pereira's dignity so strongly" (*Geschichte des Portugiesischen Kolonialwesens in Ostindien* pp. 246-7 *apud* Lewis, *Government of Dependencies*, Oxford, ed. Lucas, pp. 382-3). Thus Bright's was no new suggestion, but one over and over tried by the Portugese in India and set aside, and in the opinion of their greatest statesman in the East, Alfonso Albuquerque, a death-blow to their power was given by this system. The English tried it up to 1773, and were so dissatisfied with it, that they gradually concentrated all central controlling authority in the Governor-General, till in 1834 his power over the presidencies was fully established. This power continues to the present day and has contributed much to the well ordered government

of the Empire. Indeed in some matters there has been since Lord Mayo's time what has been called decentralisation. That, however, is in purely local matters. But the real central control of the Governor-General and his Supreme Government over the subordinate Governments has rather increased and become more efficient and effectual of late years. And one may take it as certain that there will never come a time when this will be relaxed, much less, given up.

Corresponding to the change in the powers of the Governor-General over the other Presidencies, a change was made in his designation showing that he had complete control over them. Up to 1833 he was called Governor-General of Bengal or of Fort William in Bengal. But the Act passed in that year provided that "the superintendence, direction and control of the whole civil and military government of all the said territories and revenues in India, shall be, and is hereby vested in a Governor-General and Councillors, to be styled Governor-General of *India* in Council." There was some meaning in the former designation. The Governor-General was also the Governor of what was called the Bengal Presidency. He was directly responsible for the Government of that presidency whilst he indirectly controlled the Governments of the other presidencies. But the Presidency of Fort William was found too vast to be governed by the Governor-General, and it was accordingly broken up into two presidencies—that of Fort William in Bengal proper and that of Agra. The Act provided a separate Governor for the latter; but this provision was not carried out. The fourth presidency of Agra was not created, but by the Act of 1835 a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for the Agra division of the Bengal Presidency to relieve the Governor-General of a part of his heavy burden. He was not now Governor of the entire Presidency of Bengal, hence his style was changed and Bengal dropped from it. Whilst his control of all Indian Governments being complete, he was called Governor-General of India. In 1853 he ceased to be the direct Governor of the remainder of Bengal also. His frequent absence from Calcutta on tours to the other provinces and especially Simla, and his other heavy duties of superintending the administrations

of the other presidencies, interfered with the good government of Bengal. So that province was formed into a separate local Government by the Act of 1853 under a Lieutenant-Governor, and the Governor-General ceased to be the local Governor of any province.

In the year 1858 by an Act India was transferred to the Crown and the East India Company, who was responsible for its Government, was abolished. This made but little real difference in the administration of this country. The Company, though nominally responsible, had ceased to have any serious control over its administration. That had really passed by various Acts from 1783, when Pitt's famous Bill was passed, onwards, to the ministers of the Crown, and the Board of Control under its President who was a Cabinet Minister; had become the real controlling factor in the government of India. The Act of 1858 merely recognised what had long become an accomplished fact and did away with the phantom of the Company which alone had remained in Indian administration. The machinery through which the control on Indian affairs was to be exercised was changed. But the Government in India remained essentially the same.

The powers of the Governor-General remained much the same as before. Even no change has been made by law in the style by which he is called. He is still called officially and legally the Governor-General. "From this time the dignity and title of Viceroy have been conferred on the Governor-General.\*" The term Viceroy, says Sir John Strachey, "has been commonly applied to the Governor-General since the transfer of the government to the Crown, but it is not recognised by law." (*India*, p. 33, ed. 1888.) "It may be mentioned," says Sir George Chesney, more explicitly in the third edition of his work, "that the title of Viceroy has no statutory obligation. It was first used in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, announcing the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown. The only title employed in Acts of Parliament is that of Governor-General and what is singular also, the title of Viceroy has not been introduced into

\* Chesney, *Indian Polity*, p. 47, 2nd ed.

the Queen's Warrant of appointment of a Governor-General." (*Indian Polity*, p. 132, 3rd ed. 1894.) The Sovereign can confer the title of Viceroy, and this was done in the Proclamation by the late Queen in 1858. But in the "Warrant under the sign manual of the Sovereign by which the Governor-General is appointed" (Sir W. Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, Part II the Crown, p. 79, cf. p. 267) the term Viceroy is not mentioned. Such a Warrant under the sign manual is given in Sir Courtenay Ilbert's book on the Government of India, appointing Lord Elgin to be Governor-General in 1893, and throughout this document this title of Viceroy does not once occur, and the office of Governor-General is alone mentioned (pp. 574—6). In the "Government of India Act, 1858," under which present Governors-General are appointed, there is no mention made of the Viceroy. (*Cf. Statutes at Large of the United Kingdom*, Volume XXIV, Edition of Rickards, p. 231.) Thus the name Viceroy by which the Governor-General is commonly called has no legal sanction, but is used in popular parlance. "Since India," says Sir Courtenay Ilbert, "has been placed under the direct Government of the Crown, the Governor-General has also been Viceroy as the representative of the Crown." (*Government of India*, p. 179.) The Governor-General is representative of the Crown and therefore called Viceroy. The same distinguished writer says: "The Governor-General in Council, as representing the Crown in India, enjoys in addition to any statutory powers, such of the powers, prerogatives, privileges, and immunities, appertaining to the Crown as are appropriate to the case and consistent with the system of law in force in India." (*Ibid.*, p. 179.) The Governor-General represents the Crown and is at the head of the executive administration in India, as in Canada and elsewhere. As Sir William Anson says of the Canadian system of government: "The executive of the Dominion is the Queen (now the King) represented by a Governor-General." (*Op. cit.*, p. 256.)

I have gone at some length into this subject because recently an attempt has been made in the Bombay Municipal Corporation by Sir P. M. Mehta, a member of that body, to differentiate the Viceroy as representative of the Crown and to make him out to be a distinct personality from the



Governor-General as head of the executive Government. As was pointed out at the time by the Editor of the *Times of India* and by myself, this was mere hair-splitting and Sir P. M. Mehta was guilty of making a distinction without a difference. The Viceroy and Governor-General is one and the same person, his office is one and indivisible, and what can be predicated of him as Governor-General is also predicated of him as Viceroy. To praise the Viceroy and censure the Governor-General, to present an address to the one and refuse it to the other, as was attempted to be done but failed ignominiously in Bombay, is only a species of casuistry which does not stand to reason. To try thus to hypostatise, to borrow a term from metaphysics and theology, the Viceroy, is as futile as it is absurd.\*

I have tried in the present article to trace the rise and growth of the Governor-General and his powers, and to show how the present vast powers of control which he possesses are the slow outcome of evolution from a system of co-ordinate governments in the three presidencies to the present system of supreme control. I have not touched on the subject of his legislative powers as that is a subject apart and complex. This as well as other matters may be treated on a future occasion.

R. P. KARKARIA.

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\* On this point Sir Courtenay Ilbert was good enough to write to me as follows : —“I do not think it can be said that there is any separate office of Viceroy as distinguished from the office of Governor-General. I agree with your view that ‘Viceroy’ is merely a title of the Governor-General as representative of the Crown.” This explicit opinion of one who is the highest living authority on Indian polity ought to settle the matter if there were any lurking doubt about it anywhere.

## Art. IV.—OUR COUSINS, THE EURASIANS OF INDIA.

### A PLEA.

THE genesis of the race, its condition and prospects, and the means to be taken to befit the people for a proper position among the communities innumerable in India, have been frequently discussed by both Anglo-Indian and Native journalists, as well as European and Eurasian pamphleteers as *the Eurasian Question*. It is commonly believed that the question has been fully thrashed out, but as the evolution of the people—young as a race—is manifesting protean forms, I for one do not share in that belief, and am therefore constrained to return to what has not inaptly been called, *the Eternal Eurasian Question*. I propose therefore to consider, as briefly as the subject will allow, the people as *an ethnic entity*, and *their social progress during the past half century*. In doing so I distinctly disavow any intention of hurting the feelings of the community or of their accredited leaders, but if in making unvarnished statements, I occasionally lapse into little pleasantries to which unfortunately the “ethnic entity” lends itself, I trust that the sober-minded among the community will not refuse to look facts in the face and give them their proper value in dealing with “self-help”, the motto of the several Anglo-Indian and Eurasian associations, I write as a friend, and the claim will be conceded, I believe, when the article is read through.

*The Ethnic Entity.* • The race is hybridous, the *sequela* of European domination of India. Living as they do among their brethren and sisters of both races, it was only to be expected that they could never remain a constant racial quantity so to speak; but that there would, in the course of years, be an assimilation, by a series of alliances, to either race, and this has occurred in every conceivable degree. Father Doyle in a speech at Madras, said that some Eurasians were so white as to be undistinguishable from Europeans, and others so far gone in reversion to the Indian (and they are in the majority) that it has become difficult to say who was a Native Christian and

who not. A Eurasian writer in his *A Peep into Eurasia* refers to a class of the community who think in Tamil and express their thoughts in pigeon English; and Mr. Thurston of the Madras Government, says, "in colour Eurasians range from sooty-black, through sundry shades of brown and yellow to pale white, and even as a very rare exception florid or rosy." Is this *melange* describable by a single term? Unfortunately the community has itself furnished the world with a racial definition as comprehensive as the term *genus equus*.

Eurasians white, Eurasians brown,  
Country bred, or born in town,  
Sooty black, ecru, or buff,  
Desist ye gods, we've had enough!

Are all these one in the bonds of blood and racial traditions? The several Associations have the hardihood to say they are. Father Doyle says that in the early part of the century, the genuine Eurasian community was swamped by the Native Christian invasion which accounts for the difficulty—impossibility he should have said—of differentiating a Native Christian from a Eurasian, or *vice versa*. But the invasion went steadily on during that century and proceeds merrily up to this very hour, Eurasia with open arms receiving the invaders and hailing them as brethren beloved. The genuine Eurasian community is being rapidly denationalised by an influx of Indian blood. It seems to be forgotten that the offspring of a native father, though masquerading in European clothes, and a European or Eurasian mother is legally an Indian and not a Eurasian. The pertinacity displayed by an Indian of this variety in his search for a white partner is astonishing. Are the evils of *mesalliances* of earlier days, for which there was abundant excuse, and which abide with us to-day—to be perpetuated, emphasized, by such deplorable contracts? Should a white girl who has lost sight of her Indian ancestry, deliberately go back to the Asiatic race, and handicap her offspring? To my absolute knowledge, in the majority of such cases, evil has followed in after years, the mildest form of it being that mothers are ashamed to present their offspring to their white friends unless asked to do so. It were infinitely better for such girls to go out into service as ladies' maids. But why emphasize this heterogeniety, says a

*quasi* reformer? The answer is simply because it would be absurd not to do so. No doctor worth the name ignores the most trivial symptoms in diagnosing a disease, unless he is not ashamed of being branded as an empiric. The failure of the Associations to carry out their programme for raising the status of Eurasians, so called, is due to their not looking facts in the face, and considering their bearing on the undertaking.

Before passing on to the consideration of the social progress made by Eurasians during the past half century, I trust I may be permitted to dwell for a little on the humours of *Eurasia*, stating only what I know to be absolutely true. Allied as the people are, more or less closely, to the dominant race, complexion is very naturally a matter of serious consideration to them, as it goes without saying that the nearer the approach to white humanity, the easier it is to evoke its sympathy and secure its help. In illustration of the principle that a fellow feeling makes one wondrous kind, I shall recount an incident exactly as it was related to me. A Eurasian tramp, of Mr. Thurston's "florid or rosy" variety, on a begging expedition called at the house of a British officer. The butler presented himself before his master when the following colloquy ensued:—

"What's the matter Butler?"

"Beggard man, sar."

• "What does he want?"

"Money, sar."

"Very good, if he is a European, give him a rupee; if he is a half-caste eight annas; and if he is *your* caste, four annas."

The butler hurrying out, tried to draw the tramp in the vernacular, but he pathetically wagged his head, whirled his hands and said in a conciliatory tone, "Sorry don't know Tamil, Mr. Butler." The *mister* quite fetched the deluded native; the tramp pocketed the rupee and went away blessing his skin, not less than the stentorian voice of the Englishman, which travelling so great a distance enabled him to countervail the wiles of the butler by using *ruse contre ruse*!

For reasons which are on the surface, *Eurasia* has a vocabulary of its own for degrees of whiteness and swarthinness; the word *colour*, for example, being always understood to mean

lightness of complexion instead of the opposite as used by Englishmen and Americans. He, or she, has good colour would mean that the individual is approximately white. Adopting Mr. Thurston's scale of complexions, *i.e.* (a) florid or rosy, (b) pale white, (c) shades of yellow, (d) shades of brown, (e) sooty black, the Eurasian equivalents would be (a and b) European colour or complexion (c) fair, (d) brunette and (e) dark. It follows from this that any epidermal description of an individual of the race by a compatriot must be given its English synonym to be comprehended by a Britisher.

The threatened advent of every child, especially when the couple is ill-matched, is a source of intense anxiety to both the parents. "Which of us will it take after" is the all-absorbing question. If forecasts are not made, though they are as a rule, as to the complexion of the coming blossom of humanity, expectation runs high when the interesting event actually occurs. Ordinarily other mothers enquire of the *accoucheuse* whether the little stranger is a son or a daughter, but in our hypothetical case maternal solicitude takes the form of the enquiry "Is it like Mr. de Fandango, or me?" Mr. Fandango on the other hand walks nervously up and down an adjoining room or verandah in an advanced state of perspiration, hoping, and it may be praying, that his offspring may have the cuticular heritage of its mother. The *accoucheuse* if a Eurasian will, on intimating the sex of the child to the father, invariably add, "like you," or "like the mother" as the case may be, the reference being of course not to the features, for they are indeterminate at birth, but to racial appearance. She may at the same time shed a ray of hope in the mind of the distressed father, by holding out assurance that there will be an improvement when excretion takes place on the third or fourth day. There is some reason for the encouragement, but in the case of a Eurasian child, pigmental changes supervene as the days go by in imitation of the bad examples set by Egyptian babies and cutty pipes. A gentleman rejoicing in the name of Joshua Joaquim, whose personality, without any description, I may safely rely upon my readers mentally to *kodak* with great accuracy, had a native partner. He was in another station when she brought him a son and heir. On receipt of the

information he impatiently telegraphed to an intimate friend "Love to *Pootchie* (a pet term), is the baby fair?" Truthful enough in other matters, many Eurasians are expert archers in hitting off their pedigree. Somehow they find, or affect to find, *immediate* descent from Western races; and if such descent is obvious in face or figure, they dexterously transpose the races of their progenitors, Eurasian for native and European for Eurasian. On the principle if one draws a bow he may as well draw a long bow, a man here and there (I have had no such experience of the opposite sex) will calmly assure you that not only were his defunct Eurasian parents, Europeans, but that he himself was born in some historical English town and came out to India in early childhood! It would have been infinitely better had he said, "I am all but English in blood, and I trust altogether so in manners, habits, customs, traditions and all that goes to make up English manhood." Not long since a woman who "thinks in Tamil" and talks *chee-chee* English on being questioned as to her nationality hastily bared her plump Aunt Chloe-like arm and asserted in a loud tone. "I'm *Eur'ashen*, my *puppu* was Drum-major in 105th Madras Infantry." It was meant for a quietus, the occupation of her father was an unchallengeable indication of her extraction. *Quasi*-Eurasians affect the Native Army as Bandsmen, Buglers, Farriers, etc.

Tropical heat induces precocity it is said, and India is the country in which to prove the validity of the physiological theorem. The bump of amateness must be largely developed in the Eurasian to judge by the facility with which the sexes are attached to each other. Even school-going youths form attachments before they are well through the conjugation of *Amo*. Very few lassies have occasion to croon the lachrymose ditty I heard in childhood, but, failed to comprehend though I do so now being somewhat older.

Last night the dogs did bark,  
 I went to the gate to see,  
 Every lass she had her spark  
 But nobody came for me  
 Oh! what shall I do-oo-oo (da capo)  
 Nobody comes to marry me, nobody comes to woo!

With years of experience the young man at 21 is a formidable flirt. Driven to distraction, the high collar cutting into the gills, the locks well greased like those of a hair-dresser's apprentice, he promenades in all public places, innocently believing that young ladies in all positions of life admire, if not love him. He is an ardent worshipper at the shrine of Cupid, fully endorsing Voltaire's lines written on the pedestal of the god's statue.

*Qui que tu sois, voici tu maitre,  
Il l'est, le fut, ou le doit être !*

which in England doggrel would be,

Whosoever thou art, thy master here see,  
He's that now, or he was, or surely should be !

The colloquialisms and accent of a certain section of *urasia* furnish their quota of humour, but I refrain from instancing them for the present, lest the *embarras de richesse* should prove too much.

*Their Social Progress during the past half Century.* It may provoke a smile to speak of a *Eurasian aristocracy*, but in contradistinction to the classes which are accepted as constituting Eurasia, there is such a distinguished body. It came into existence in the early history of British supremacy in this country. Marriages were not infrequently contracted by upright Englishmen of high social and official status with highborn Indian dames in accordance with Hindu or Mahomedan rites, *e. g.*, Colonel Kennedy married a princess of the Rajput State, and one of their daughters became the first wife of General Sir Abraham Roberts, G.C.B., the father of Lord Roberts. When the men were less conscientious in this respect, they were nevertheless as faithful to their mates as most men are nowadays who take wives in the orthodox fashion. There is, to be sure, the conventional bar sinister attaching to such progeny, that is distinctly traceable in the haughty British aristocracy, as will be seen by a reference to Burke's Peerage ; indeed, the bar has to be evidenced in the armorial bearings of a few of the choicest peers of the realm. For the matter of that, every race descended from conquerors and conquered, including the much-mixed Anglo-Saxon is open to that slur, while the multiplication of the human race itself will not bear

close examination under the search light of modern ethics. I have been led to say all this to take the edge off the pen and tongue of the detractors of Eurasians, and in justification of their claim to as much respect and consideration as any other people. The offspring of Britons in the highest places of trust in the days of the Hon'ble John Company were, as a rule, sent by their fathers to their relatives in England, where they developed into English people of birth and breeding, the men succeeding their fathers in the various departments of the Company's service and the women marrying into society. Their identity is almost lost because of successive alliances with Britishers; but I can name not a few, though to do so here would be social blasphemy. These folks never formed part of the amorphous lump now known as Eurasians, though there are some among them, even in South India, who have the best blood of English administrators and warriors in their veins. True Eurasia is descended on the paternal side from middle-class Englishmen and Native Christian women, with whom as a rule they contracted marriages in the Christian form. The Rev. Father Doyle of Madras has recently claimed to have unearthed this historical fact, and the community ought to be thankful to him for the discovery. Mixed up with these Indo-Britons, however, are people remotely descended, chiefly from foreign European nationalities as well as Native Christians. It is with this aggregate I have to deal in the following observations as to the social progress made by them. Just here, at the threshold of the subject, I feel very keenly the difficulties which beset my path. As the people have not acquired a racial fixity, nor ever will in the present conditions, I have already described them as an *amorphous lump*. To discuss the questions affecting its interest without limitations, would therefore be quite incompatible with a fair and adequate treatment of them. But to do so with limitations satisfactory enough to a certain section, one would have to run the gauntlet of the hypersensitiveness of another, and incur the risk of being written down a bigoted Englishman, a colour-hating American, or an apostate Eurasian. With considerable elasticity, as suggested by Sir Lee-Warner I propose to divide Eurasians, so called, into two sections, *i. e.*, *Indo-Britons* and



*Eurasians*; the former consisting of the "pure European natives and all whether one-tenth or one-fifth, or half Asiatic," and the latter, of the rest of the community including Indians with European patronymics. I anticipate the resentment of the "pure European native" in being placed on the level of the half and half, and of the more than half native in being placed below the latter platform.

But I proceed to show in marked contrast with the "weaknesses and foibles" of the people which I have sketched in a spirit of well-meaning levity, their noble combat with singularly adverse circumstances, and their eminent success in disproving the fatuous flappedoodle of "unreasoning race-proud whites" that the Indo-Briton has the vices of both the races, whose blood he shares, with none of their virtues! Prejudice goes into the scale against the scientific truth that hybrids inherit the best features of both the parent stock and pitifully kicks the beam. Lest it should be supposed that the "singularly adverse circumstances" referred to, is a dramatic figment of my brain, I subjoin brief quotations from printed statements of leading Britishers in support of my belief, that the situation of the people, as a blend of two utterly diverse races living in the midst of the conquerors and the conquered, is, *sui generis*, altogether different from that of any other branch of the Anglo-Saxon race, and without a parallel in the history of the world.

"There is the cruel, unjust prejudice of unreasoning race-proud whites which always handicaps the man of mixed parentage, no matter how worthy in himself. The oft-repeated statement that the half-caste of India has the vices of the two races, but the virtues of neither, is as false as any statement lightly made by unfeeling men who talk only in the general, but never dare to come to the particular.....what with jealousy and mistrust on all hands.....it is found impossible to give him his due in India."—*A Scottish Planter*.

"The scientific fallacy was, that whereas science proved that hybrids united in themselves the best features of both the parent stock, it was assumed that the Eurasian united in himself the worst characteristics of both European and Indian!"—*Rev. Father Doyle*.

"The work done by the Church for the conversion of the heathen has been out of all proportion to the work done for our own kith and kin. While showing a mighty zeal for the spiritual welfare of the native of the land and his intellectual and social improvement too, in many cases, why have we been indifferent to the spiritual and social elevation of those who have the strongest claim of a common nationality upon us? The missionaries themselves can hardly be said to be free from blame in this matter."—*G. J. Chree, D.D.*

"Here we have a large community of mixed descent, elbowed out on the one hand by Europeans, and on the other by Indians. It is another illustration of the fate of the earthen-pot between two iron pots."—*L. P. Pugh, M. A., Barrister-at-Law.*

"I think if I were an Eurasian, I should not be bold enough to stay in India, but would fight the battle of life elsewhere, where there would be less to contend against, and one would have a fairer field."—*Rev. C. H. L. Wright.*

"One thing is certain, and that is, to a great number of Eurasians the land of their birth holds out no hope, and they could not well be worse off in other countries than they are here."—*Civil and Military Gazette.*

"You cannot expect the grit of Britons (which is largely the result of British environment) ..... You cannot expect that same grit in people who are brought up from their childhood in circumstances very different from hardy home life. India and her traditions, India and her climate, are not the environments which will raise a hardy set of Britons. Of course there are individuals, as in every country, who have risen superior to their surroundings and are strong, active, healthy members of Society."—*Statesman.*

"With no home but India, they are foreigners in India. There are Europeans and Eurasians who have most nobly struggled up from childhood in India, spent in poverty, to positions of honour and usefulness, and there are many who have done at least creditably."—*Indian Standard.*

The utter absence of all floridness and rhapsody in the foregoing statements made by English, Irish, Scotch, and Welshmen of note, ought, I think, for ever to sweep away the refuge

of many proud, thoughtless Britons, who, deciding on the illogical principle, *ex uno disce omnes*, clap the *damnosus hereditas* of the people I have classified as *Eurasians* on the shoulders of *Indo-Britons*, as they splutter out, at secondhand, the well-worn platitude "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth." I should be inclined to say with Philip, "Come and see." How would it do for Indo-Britons to credit Britishers with all the sweet virtues of General Booth's submerged tenth; it would be unadulterated Boetianism, would it not?

Thus it will have been seen that Indo-Britons are falsely charged with the possession of all the European and Indian vices without a redeeming virtue of either race; that their failure to be the counterpart of their home-bred cousins is unscientifically attributed to themselves and not as it should be to their utterly different environments; that from motives of "jealousy, mistrust, and unjust prejudice" an Indo-Briton's just due is withheld from him, however worthy he may be; that the people are exotics in the land with none of the associations that endear India to them as their home-land; that they are the flotsam and jetsam of India's population; that they could not possibly be worse off in any other country, that they are reprehensibly neglected by the Church, which evinces "mighty zeal" in raising the aboriginal to a higher moral, intellectual and even social pedestal. But that although cribbed, cabined, confined and sat upon, many have done more than creditably, and others "have most nobly struggled" into positions of honour and usefulness. The theory of the unworthiness of the race will be asserted by Britishers. I am afraid, up to their dying moments, their warped minds finding an illustration in that of the irate visionary, who, discovering his theory upset by facts, indignantly exclaimed, "but confound it, so much the worse for the facts!"

It would be interesting to enquire how the unjust prejudice, the jealousy and mistrust mentioned by a Scottish planter, work out in practice, and I shall therefore quote the experience of another sturdy, honest son of Bonny Scotland: "I could name not a few Eurasian clerks in some important departments of the State on whose ability and integrity the whole course of public business depended. I could also name

Eurasian clerks who wrote judgments for Judges, and who for years managed districts for Collectors. Get behind the scenes as much as I have been, and you would be surprised to find whence the motive force of many achievements, both in legislation and in brick and mortar, has proceeded. You would be surprised to learn how many stars decorate wrong breasts."

*I, too*, have been very much behind the scenes and can quote over a dozen demi-official letters which blighted the prospects of many a worthy Indo-British aspirant to promotion. I subjoin but one.

"Dear A,

An Extra Assistantship has become vacant in the Blank district. There are two candidates for it, B the Senior Police Inspector, and C his junior. The former is a clever Police officer, but a Eurasian, and like most men of his class exceedingly vain of his abilities; the latter is the son of D, once a medical officer, and has received an English education.

(Signed) E, Inspector-General of Police."

Now what had vanity to do with B's superior fitness for the appointment. Is the commodity wanting in the Briton? Wind in the head is a malady he contracts within six months' residence in the land of the Sun, whether he be a Civilian, an Engineer, a Lawyer, a Clergyman, a shop assistant, or a Kolar miner. As for C's English education the extent of it will be inferred from the fact that he came out to India at the age of thirteen and never darkened the door of an Indian school. Every child in an English Dame's School has received an English education. Of course, C was promoted at the age of 18 over the head of B who was nearly twice his age, and had been fourteen years in the service!

I have now to deal with the progress which the community has made during the past half century, excluding those whom I have denominated as its aristocracy, *i. e.*, those who by virtue of their birth and breeding easily found their way into high social and official positions, the peerage not excepted, but whose identity has all but vanished, their subdued complexions being charitably accredited to atavism, that is to say, a recurrence to the *Iberian* race which had once inundated

almost all Europe, or to any other dingy race, but the Indian, albeit it is on the whole an honourable branch of the great *Aryan* family. It will be understood that I am dealing with the fortunes only of Indo-Britons as I have defined the term, and not of Eurasians, although some of the latter have done signally well. They have in the bulk, however, levelled down to the low-caste Indian and are a conspicuous illustration of the forces of heredity and environment which make for decadence and eventual extinction. If matters continue as they are, and I see no prospect of amendment, the day is not far distant when, by a process of progressive decadence, the race will either die out, or merge into the lowest grades of the native community, like a certain race in the Bombay Presidency known as the Portuguese or Goanese. Already they think in the vernacular and express themselves in an amusing *patois*.

The late Archdeacon Bayly, than whom there is no one better acquainted with the people, has said : "It has not been ascertained with any certainty whether this class is on the increase . . . It is certainly very undesirable, both from a human and a political point of view, that it should increase, unless at the same time its material and moral condition can be ameliorated." Its extinction would not have the remotest effect on the economics of the country, labour, production, or anything else ; indeed, the social tree would be all the better for the excision of the excrescence. I make these observations regarding Eurasians to show that their injudicious admission into Indo-British Associations is fatal to the interest of that section of the domiciled European community. At one of the anniversaries of the Madras Association, both Mr. Beauchamp, a Vice-President, and Colonel Formby, commanding the Volunteer Guards, pointedly referred to the danger ahead in this direction. The Indo-Briton, unlike the Eurasian Issachar, has, it is true, but one burden to carry, but it is the ponderous one of environment. British heredity is in his favour and has stood him in good stead, notwithstanding the pestilent heresy that the opposite is the case, but which more observant and level-headed Britishers have righteously denounced, as shown in the quotations already made. With environment should be included the effervescent twaddle about

Indo-Britons not performing certain menial acts which Britishers of the working class in this country themselves eschew. The twaddle is indulged in to cover the retreat of the superior being, who, as an expatriate, refrains from doing what he has to do in the land of his birth to eke out a scanty income. It is the *mamool* of the country, and is due both to the instinctive spirit of domination and the languor of the tropics. The Indo-Briton ought not therefore to be discredited on its account and his spirit of self-help in other directions unfairly discounted. "The burden of the white man" around which have crystallised the sentimentalities of the poet, the solemn declarations of grey-headed politicians, the glib theories of sociologists, and the forgetful admonitions of tearful moralists, is not so formidable as is commonly supposed. The exploitation of the black man rather lightens the burden, and "Little's Oriental (golden) Balm" greatly relieves the galled shoulders! The subjoined, by an essayist, is an excellent description of the situation. What Indo-Britons protest against is the effort of the *régime* under which they find themselves, to place them on a lower platform than that of the Britisher, for have they not been officially declared to be "Natives of India," and not colonists in any sense: "When one has had even a little experience of the conditions of tropical life and labour in such places as Ceylon, Java, and further East, he is rather easily persuaded that there are many things not fit for a White Man, and that in some quarters of the globe, at any rate, the real mission of the black is to be the hewer of wood and the drawer of water—to fetch and carry for the white man; to do those things which have in them *nothing of the dignity and little of the profit of labour*. It may not be a very exalted view in the full moral sense; it may be that it was long ago the excuse for all that was worst in slavery; yet, when white men in a tropical country legislate for their own comfort, they generally take that selfish view, and leave it to others to deal with the ethical question. It means, in a measure, the deterioration of the race, for one cannot help seeing that five years' life in any part of India, where the drudgery of life falls to the black, utterly unfits the white man for competition with his more virile kinsmen of the temperate zones. The languor of the tropics is in his blood; the tropics own him for ever. Yet

it is a pleasant, dreamy degeneration, with something in it of the compensation of the opium-eater." The moral, intellectual, and social development of such a community, and in such circumstances as I have described, would be an interesting study to a student of sociology. I shall here attempt to relate it. In the early fifties the Indo-British community was comparatively small, self-contained and prosperous; a beggar or a tramp was a *rara avis*. Men of some education filled almost all the appointments in every department of the Government service in which a knowledge of English was required; those of a certain pedigree, if physically fit, enlisted in the British army, and others turned their attention to quite a number of profitable industries, a knowledge of most of which they had acquired from their British progenitors, chiefly army men. There were shopkeepers, gold and silversmiths, locksmiths, cabinet-makers, clock and watch repairers, carriage builders, veterinarians, and horse-trainers, book-binders, bakers, and confectioners, etc. In process of time, however, instalment after instalment of native helpers acquired all the knowledge possessed by the Indo-Briton, and with their marvellous gift of acquisition produced as good results, for which they charged but two-thirds of the rates demanded by him. Only one thing could happen to the Indo-British workman in the circumstances; his social development was arrested. He could not improve his methods of work, there was no one to teach him; he had not the means of getting out British workmen to do so, nor of purchasing machinery to aid him. He sank lower and lower, not only in the estimation of others, but in his own. The younger men took to enlisting as musicians and drummers in native regiments, marrying native women of the lower classes. The offspring of these folk and other unfortunates are the Eurasians, who are essentially the submerged class; an Indianized offshoot of Indo-Britons, which in Calcutta more especially has attained portentous dimensions. Hence it comes to pass that almost every one born in India is boxed up with the race, a relegative process that reminds one of the Cornish pies and pasties, which are so common that it is said, if he could only be caught thereabouts, the Devil himself would be "put in a pie!" The residue of the Indo-British community, whose

pursuits were not threatened by native competition, pursued the even tenor of their way, educating their children to the best of their opportunities to take their places in succession. It must be admitted that circumstances had induced the belief that they had an intrinsic and inalienable right, as the scions of an imperial race to the loaves and fishes which filled their platters, and that they had passed in consequence into a condition of dreamy degeneration. But a startling change soon came over the spirit of their dream after the great Mutiny. With the inauguration of the Crown policy, conceived, primarily if not entirely, in the interest of the native Indian, they awoke to find themselves brought into stern conflict with a mighty alien host championed by their own kinsfolk. If it be axiomatic that every foreign or external influence which is brought to bear upon a nation is an interference with its natural development, what shall be said of the influence which bears upon a scanty foreign tribe by a colossal nation three thousand seven hundred and fifty times more numerous ! It is terrible ; but has the community gone under ? Most certainly not ; on the contrary, emerging from the purifying fires it has evolved a gentry, an educated middle class and a sturdy class of workmen which compare favourably with the corresponding grades in the home-land. Instead of vergers and church clerks we have had three D. D.'s in Southern India alone, one of whom is to-day a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

There are a large number of ministers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, some of whom are acknowledged as being "among our best preachers," and I am aware of the existence of two Indo-British clergymen in charge of English parishes. Instead of tehsildars and amildars we have Civil Servants in charge of districts, and Magistrates of Presidency towns. Surgeon-Generals and a crowd of commissioned Medical Officers may be contrasted with the apothecaries and compounders of the days of the Hon'ble John Company. Leading lawyers, netting half a lakh of rupees a year, tower in wig and gown over seedy, impecunious pleaders and petition-writers. Chief and Superintending Engineers, Executive and Assistant Engineers have lost sight of Overseers, Supervisors, and Sub-Engineers. In the Financial Department



the sons of Accountants have blossomed into Assistant Auditors General, and Deputy and Assistant Accountant-Generals. The Public Works Accounts Department has a large percentage of Examiners and Deputy and Assistant Examiners, and so on and so on. There is not a single department of the Government service, into the higher grades of which the Indo-Briton has not forced himself by the dint of sheer grit. To turn to the humbler occupations of life, turn our eyes where we will, the people are to be found ; they man our Telegraphs, our Railways, our Post Offices, our Customs-houses, the Public Works Department, our Subordinate Medical Services, Military and Civil, our Secretariats, and supply generally the clerical machinery of the Supreme and Provincial Governments. In short the administrative machinery of the Government of India is largely carried on by Indo-Britons. The women kind have progressed *pari passu* with their brothers. We have Graduates and Under-Graduates, Doctors and Apothecaries, Musicians and Artists, Newspaper Correspondents and Serial Story-writers, etc. "It is dogged as does it," and the race has demonstrated the canine virtue. How comes it to pass then that it is stigmatised as a degenerated branch of the Anglo-Saxon race, and described as *inherently* inferior to the home-born individual? *Je ne sais pourquoi, mais il est vrai*, expresses the intelligent dictum.

But I am glad in conclusion to state that the clouds appear to be passing away, and that the dawn of a brighter day has already broken. Lord Curzon, with his phenomenal quickness of perception and virile sense of justice, has grasped the situation of the people. He has said of them that there is always the sense, inevitable in a foreign country, that they are not indigenous, born of the soil, but that they are exotics, transplanted to a strange land and struggling against an unpropitious environment. He has inaugurated an entirely new scheme for European education, free from the blunders and entrapments of the old scheme, which was conceived altogether in the interests of native Indian youth.

In presiding at the prize distribution at the Simla Bishop Cotton School, he remarked that "all these boys and young men, as they leave this school, become, in their several walks of life the custodians of the same principles and standards of

honour and integrity and manly bearing which we associate with the education that is given in English schools, and they go forth under a solemn obligation to uphold these standards among an alien people, and in a foreign land. If these Schools are to be not only a source of preparation for employment, but also, as they ought to be, a nursery of national character, then I think it will be seen that Government cannot afford to look at them with idleness or indifference, but that we must watch them with a very friendly and fatherly eye, because the products whom they turn out are going to be included among the instruments who help to do the work of the Government in this country, and to sustain or degrade (God forbid that it should ever be the latter) the priceless heritage of the British name."

There is no doubt but that the race will respond to the high ideals set before them by the present Ruler of India.

AMICUS.

## Art. V.—LORD CURZON AND THE NATIVE STATES.

THE Marquess of Hastings, who established the supremacy of the British in India, sketched its ideal, in his Private Journal. "Our object," he wrote in it on the 6th February 1814, when he had but lately set his foot on Indian soil, "our object ought to be to render the British Government paramount in effect, if not declaredly so. We should hold the other States as vassals, in substance though not in name."

During a period of more than three-quarters of a century, which have passed since the above was written, the numerous treaties of the same Marquess, the annexations of the Marquess of Dalhousie, the adoption Sanads of Lord Canning, the Malharrao Commission of the Earl of Northbrook, the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi of the Earl of Lytton, and the Imperial Service Troops Scheme of the Marquess of Dufferin have all severally and collectively tended in the direction of the perfect realisation of the ideal of the British supremacy.

Lord Curzon has gone a step further. "The Native Chief," he said at Gwalior, during the first year of his administration, "has become by our policy an integral part in the Imperial organisation of India. He is concerned no less than a Viceroy or a Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner."

Perhaps the most obvious effect of this New Policy, which was brought home to all the Native Chiefs, was the order requiring them to obtain the sanction of the Government for visiting foreign countries, for a definite period of time, which was not to be overstayed. In other words, leave rules were made applicable to them. It seems not improbable that the same reasons which led to the coming into force of the above rules, would lead to similar restrictions being placed on the journeys of the Native Chiefs outside their territories.

The summary action of the Government, in the matter of the deposition of the Bharatpur Chief, in 1900, laid down a bad precedent. That unfortunate Chief was, in 1895, in consequence

of his conduct and intemperate habits, already deprived of his ruling powers, although he was not then formally deposed. In the summer of 1900, he had as usual gone to spend the season at Mount Abu, the summer head-quarters of the Hon'ble the Agent-Governor-General for Rajputana. In a moment of anger, or perhaps under the influence of intoxication, he shot dead a servant of his, one day at noon. Thereupon, without any inquiry, "all his rights were . . . declared by the Government of India to be forfeited, he was placed permanently under confinement" and "his infant son was *selected* as his *successor*" (the italics are mine). The Government of India, in a long resolution, which announced to the world these arrangements, told the Native Chiefs that they were responsible to it for all their actions and that it had the right to mete out proper punishment to them as the consequences thereof. Perhaps the most dangerous element introduced into this business was, that the right of trial possessed by the meanest subject of any civilized Government was denied to this Chief.

A modification was introduced in another case, which unfortunately occurred in the following year. In 1901, the uncle of the Chief of Panna, a State in Bundelkhand, died suddenly under suspicious circumstances. The fact that this nobleman was an obstacle in the way of the realisation of a cherished desire of the Chief, led to the doubt that the death may not have been a natural one and that the Chief himself may have had a hand in it. A commission of inquiry, consisting of a deep-thinking person of the Political Department and a lawyer holding one of the highest judicial appointments in India, was appointed, with powers to report upon the nature and extent of the complicity of the Chief, and to award sentences to the other people concerned. This commission held that the complicity of the Chief was established. It also sentenced to death the person who was the agent of the Chief in this nefarious business.

This mode of inquiry into, and decision on, the alleged crimes of a Native Chief and his agents, is open to all the objections which could have been urged against the action of the Government in the Bharatpur case and to some others. In the first place the trial of a person, whose title to the

sovereignty of his state is both older than, and independent of the paramount power, by the mere paid servants of that power, on the mere strength of might or the rights accruing from an universal dominion or suzerainty, is high-handed and demoralising at the same time. In the second place the arrogation of the right of punishing the subjects of a separate, if subordinate, power, which has an independent right to dispose of such matters, is an abrogation of its identity,—a result which is equally undesirable.

It would appear that the step taken by the sagacious and noble Earl of Northbrook, in appointing among judges the peers of the person under trial, in the Malharrao Commission, was the happiest solution of a difficult problem.

Commenting upon this step, Lord Salisbury, in his final despatch of 3rd June 1875, observed :—" In deciding upon the mode of inquiry to be adopted, your Excellency was guided by weighty considerations. You decided that the sufficiency of the evidence, on which you proceeded should be known to the world, and therefore, you determined that the proceedings should be public. You further desired, as you informed the Maharajah Scindia, ' that the Commission should be constituted in such a manner as to command the confidence of the whole of India.' In this spirit you resolved that one half of it should consist of Natives, and that of these one should be, like the accused, a Marhatta Prince, and one a distinguished Maratha statesman. In so doing you were inspired by that earnest and watchful consideration for the feelings of Her Majesty's Indian subjects. . . ." Can this ever be said of the two latest instances discussed above ?

Perhaps the dissension in the result of that commission's inquiry has deterred the Government from ever following that grand precedent. Indeed it was rumoured long afterwards that had Sir Dinkar Rao given his opinion as favourable to the decision of the European Commissioners, the Superintendentship of Baroda would not have gone to Raja Sir Madhav Rao. It is also possible that in the face of the further remarks of Lord Salisbury, in the despatch already quoted, Lord Curzon was helpless. " It '(the mode followed in the Baroda case),' continued Lord Salisbury

"has been undoubtedly attended with grave inconveniences, from which a sufficient argument might be drawn against the adoption of a similar procedure, if, unhappily, a similar occasion for it were ever to arise. Princes and nobles," he further remarked, "are not qualified by forensic training for the conduct of a delicate judicial investigation; and those of India, to whom the customs of an English Court of law, and the skill of an English advocate are strange, enter upon such novel duties under a special disadvantage."

Lord Curzon is to be praised in not carrying out in any case yet the threat of Lord Salisbury, uttered in the same despatch. "If Malharrao had been found guilty by the commission of the heinous offence imputed to him, there would have been no ground for inflicting on him any milder punishment than that which would have been thought just if he had occupied a humbler position."

The question of the exercise of jurisdiction over the Native Chiefs bristles with difficulties. As aptly observed by Mr. Thornton, a late Foreign Secretary in India,—“Such jurisdiction is not founded upon statutes, nor is it expressly declared (though not often implied) in treaties, but results directly from the position we have assumed. For the power, which protects from internal as well as external foes, which prevents uprising against oppression, is in justice bound to deal with the aggressor.”

The Baroda case has been an excellent precedent. "It is a jurisdiction," further opines Mr. Thornton, "which has been exercised, submitted to and acquiesced in, since the commencement of the present century (19th), but never received such formal acknowledgment as in the Baroda trial—when the rulers of the two principal States of India are representative of the most ancient dynasties, one, of the dynasties of a modern date, consented to take part in the grand inquest held by the Suzerain Power into the alleged misdeeds of one of the greatest of its Feudatories."

Lord Curzon avoided all these difficulties in putting a stop to the eccentricities of the ruler of Indore, by proceeding in a novel way. The career of the Chief, which came to such a melancholy conclusion in 1903, had been wild, even before

he became a ruler. In his report of the Central India Agency for, 1885, Sir Lepel Griffin observed :— " During 1883-84, the oppression exercised in Indore city called for the severest condemnation of the Government of India, and the senior Prince, Shivajirao Malkar, was specially censured and removed from all concern with public business." Two years later, on the demise of his father, Maharaja Tukajirao, Shivajirao was allowed to succeed his father, evidently in the hope that the responsibilities of governing a State would sober down his wild intellect. But the hope was cherished in vain. His eccentricities, however, prospered and increased to such an extent, that the reports of them published in the Native Press would lead one to believe that Indore must have resembled the Rome of Nero or the Delhi of Mahomed Tughlak.

When in 1898 Lord Curzon arrived in India, the complaints against this oppression, that had reached and were reaching the Government were so numerous, that Lord Curzon, in order to inquire into them, revived the appointment of the Resident at Indore, which, since 1859, had been merged into that of the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India.

On his arrival at Indore, the new Resident discovered that most of the complaints demanded speedy redress, to give which it required a proper machinery, through which it could be given. He therefore gave some executive authority to the State Council, which consisted of heads of departments and relations of the Maharaja, but which was, hitherto, only a consultative and an advisory board. This measure and the steps taken to bring to justice the agents of the Chief in carrying out his whimsical orders, appear to have so irritated him, that in a fit of despair, rather than of anger, he is reported to have asked Lord Curzon, either to free him from these indignities or to allow him to abdicate the Chiefship in favour of his minor son. Lord Curzon adroitly seized this opportunity of getting through a nasty situation and determinedly frustrated all further attempts of the Chief to revoke his abdication.

On January 31, 1903, a Darbar, attended by the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India and the Resident at Indore, was held at the State Palace, to accept, on behalf of the Government of India, the resignation of the Chiefship of

Indore by Maharaja Shivajirao. In his speech delivered on the occasion, he appears to have hinted at the immediate cause of his ruin. 'If you have to make any representation to the Government of India,' he advised his son and successor, 'couch it in the most respectful and temperate terms.' He also advised his son to stick to the ways and manners of his ancestors—a veiled hint perhaps to suffer no diminution in the rights and privileges of the State.

In a short speech the Agent to the Governor-General accepted the resignation on behalf of the Government, taking over the management and promising that no rights or privileges of the State would be interfered with during the minority. The old Council of State was transformed into a Council of Regency, with the Resident as President. A majority of the Council was to exercise all the rights and powers of the State.

In making this last order, the history of the Council of Warren Hastings was forgotten. Diffusion of authority leads to irresponsibility. Where decisions are taken by a majority, individuals do not feel themselves called upon to study all questions properly. By the slightest freaks of chance and a precedent once formed may be traduced at another time. No permanent reforms or the laying down of broad principles can be expected from such bodies. A leader of commanding genius or even of an intriguing temperament might lead them by the nose. Indeed such a leader himself is demoralised because the authority which he wields is unbalanced by the weight of responsibility.

It would be unwise to institute a comparison between the Council of the Government of India, and a Council formed to manage a Native State, which does neither in area, nor in population, nor in income, come up to a charge in British India, under a comparatively subordinate officer. In the first place methods which are suitable for the Supreme Government of a State, comprising a continent like India, cannot be advantageous for the administration of smaller States. In the second place, by giving him the right to veto the opinion of this Council, which proviso became a necessity after the experience gained of the squabbles in the Council of Warren



Hastings, the Viceroy is made the chief source of authority and thus is solely responsible. Consequently, it is a matter of history, that the policy of the Government of India, bureaucratic as it is, has always been influenced by the personality of the reigning Viceroy.

The policy of having councils of regency was only lately introduced by the Government. Before that the responsibility rested on one man. In Native States, a man of integrity, intelligence and culture can do more than a collection of administrators, however brilliant they may be. The appointment of a Minister, like Mr. Madhav Rao, C.I.E., Dewan of Travancore, or Diwan Bahadur Samartha of Baroda, would have been the most beneficial to Indore. However, if the Government wishes to keep all the power in the hands of its Agent, let that be done by all means, but make him responsible for all his acts and orders. Let him neither be hampered by colleagues, who have, nominally at least, equal powers with himself, nor give him room to hide behind those very men.

By the final settlement with the Nizam regarding Berar, a contentious question has been laid at rest. The history of this question will not redound to the credit of the British Government. The province was first taken over in 1853, in liquidation of some debts owed by the Nizam on account of the Hyderabad Contingent, which had even then become unnecessary. Those were the days of Dalhousie and yet he did not dare to annex the province outright. In 1863, when the debts were paid off, another engagement was forced on the Nizam's young Minister, Sir Salar Jung, by which, on the condition of paying the surplus, the province was retained by the Government. The means used by its officers to keep this surplus as low as possible were, although beneficial to the province, the reverse of fair. Every root of extravagance was observed, of which the expenditure on the public works was not the least conspicuous. A keen observer, like Sir Salar Jung, could not fail to notice this. He made strenuous efforts to get back the province, but his voice was stifled, by weakening his authority, by the appointment of a courtier to be his colleague. None of his successors showed either the courage or the ability to re-open the question.

The province thus having long remained under British management, the idea of restoring it to the Nizam's administration appeared preposterous, although an engagement like the one made with Mysore, when it was restored to its native ruler, or that with the Chief of Seraikella made by Lord Curzon himself (see pages 75-77 of the book "The Failure of Lord Curzon") would have satisfied any fears on account of the people of the province. In any case to take credit from the Nizam for giving him 25 lacs annually for the province from which he used to get far less, is not ingenuous. The ample surplus, which the Government got in the first year of its administration, the proposed enhancement in the assessments and the enormous reductions contemplated in the expenditure supply the reason. As a matter of fairness the Nizam ought to have been given a far larger share in the surplus than the present arrangement has done.

The precedents formed by the resignation of Maharaja Shivajirao and the permanent leasing of Berar, bid fair to be model ones. Soon after the taking place of the former event, a Punjab Chief, who was suffering from a chronic malady, was retired and replaced by his younger brother. The resignation of the venerable Raja of Nabha was threatened, but he was induced to hold back. The second event was immediately followed by taking over, on the same conditions a strip of land on the frontier belonging to a border Chief. It was simultaneously reported in the Native Press, that it was contemplated to take over, on similar conditions, the territories of Maharaja Scindia in Malwa as well as the beautiful valley of Kashmir.

A remarkable change was made in the mode of succession to some of the Chiefships in the Deccan, which recently became vacant. Formerly the practice was that the adoption of the boy, approved by the authorities, used to take place first, and then in a formal manner his succession was announced and approved by the Agent of the Government. The new procedure followed was to assemble a Darbar, in which the Agent of the Government informed the people that So and So was selected to be the Chief, and then the adoption ceremony was allowed. In one case, the arrangements made for the adoption to take place first and the

recognition afterwards, were expressly prohibited at the eleventh hour. The recognition or selection was first announced. But it so happened that the mother of the boy so selected, declined to give away her boy in adoption. She shrewdly observed that if her son was now selected by the Government to be the Chief, what necessity then remained for her to give him away to the relations of the late Chief. The matter was nipped in the bud only by the long experience, personal influence and persuasiveness of the Government's Agent.

The responsibility undertaken by the paramount power to protect the Native States from both internal and external disturbances, makes it incumbent upon the latter to support the former, with men and money, as required. In former times each of these States had to spend anything between one-third to one-half of its income upon Military charges. Now beyond keeping a well-equipped police force, neither of them need keep an army. Therefore the Native States ought to place a percentage of their income at the disposal of the paramount power. The latter should not take over a slice of territory for that purpose, but should demand an annual payment in cash. This yearly demand of the Government will be a salutary check upon the extravagant habits of the Native Chief.

The consolidation of *Pax Britannica* has brought with it new duties. The whims or caprice of individual Native Chiefs cannot be allowed to continue with impunity. The Government owes it to the subjects of those States to see that justice is done to them. It is hard on them, for instance, that a native ruler should be allowed to imitate King Henry VIII. of England, in resuming religious charities, on pretexts similar to those advanced by the English monarch.

Enlightened rulers of Native States find it a great difficulty to keep their administration on the level of that of British India. With insufficient means, they have to exercise the same powers, which are exercised by the highest authorities in British India. Powers, which are exercised under British Government by persons getting comparatively far higher salaries, are exercised in Native States by men, who not only get a very low salary, but in training and education are quite

inferior. Corruption and miscarriage of justice naturally follow. Conscientious Chiefs feel this, but they cannot devise any means of meeting the difficulty. To deprive them of their powers would be unjust, yet the Government can keep to itself the appellate jurisdiction. Advantage may also be taken of amalgamating States which once had a common origin. Scattered territories of Native States if made more compact by exchanges of territories would also lessen the evil. In certain matters, such as the Forests, Education, Engineering, States comprised under one political charge can be made to combine and have one joint officer for each of these. The Imperial post and currency must prevail in all the Native States. The cumulative effect of all these and such like measures would certainly raise the administration of the Native States to the level of civilized States.

Lastly, let all the administrators of Native States and the British officers over them, remember and follow the sound advice of Lord Curzon. During his winter tour in 1903, his Lordship uttered the following words at Patiala: "Above all, those who are responsible for the State, have to bear in mind the cardinal principle that you cannot have a good administration unless you have good administrators, and you cannot have good administrators unless you train them, and the right people to train are people of the State itself."

A NATIVE THINKER.

## Art. VI.—AN OBSERVATION ON THE RELIGIOUS FUTURE OF INDIA.

### I.

LET me at the outset make my position clear that it is not my desire to make any forecast about the "religious future of India." I believe it is too early to hazard an opinion on the future outlook of India. There have been different kinds of predictions as to the ultimate destiny of the Indian people, and it is interesting to notice the estimate of good-intentioned people who deem it their supreme duty to make a chart of the future life of the Hindu race. It is really staggering to think how with blind confidence they make statements which, to put it mildly, are simply extravagant. Perhaps it can be said in their case that the wish is the father of thought. Let them, by all means, console themselves with the conviction that their estimate is true and nothing but the faithful picture of future India. It is striking that they do not concern themselves with the destiny of the Mahomedans whose number in this country is not inconsiderable. In the absence of any solemn declaration on this head, I think I am quite safe in saying that they have not like the Hindus any claim to go to *El Dorado*.

As the question has once more been raised there can be no harm if I, on my part, make an attempt to get an insight as to the kind of forces that are operating on Indian society and to analyse their very various consequences.

It is true that the old order of things is too swiftly passing away. There can be no mistake that new forces have deeply stirred Hindu society, as if the dead bones of the valley are becoming instinct with a new kind of vitality, and it is not too much to state that after a certain period quite new problems will confront us.

Let us, however, examine what is this power whose influence is so mighty and irresistible. Is it not worth while to enquire what is the character of the energising spirit which has made such irresistible stir in us?

What these forces are, let Mr. Lecky define :—

“ It is not Christianity but industrialism that has brought into the world that strong sense of the moral value of thrift, steady industry, punctuality in observing engagements, constant forethought with a view to providing for the contingencies of the future, which is now so characteristic of the moral type of the most civilised nations.” Mr. Lecky goes on : “ Our civilisation is more than anything else an industrial civilisation ; and the industrial habits are probably the strongest in forming the moral type to which public opinion aspires.”

It is interesting to read this statement of Mr. Lecky on the abolition of slavery. He attributes, in effect, to industrialism. I again quote him. “ Slavery which threw a deep discredit on industry and on the qualities it fosters, has passed away. The feudal system, which placed industry in an inferior position, has been abolished, and the strong modern tendency to diminish both the privileges and the exclusiveness of rank, and to increase the importance of wealth is in the same direction.”

A writer in the last April number of the *Calcutta Review* discussing, in article II. the “ Religious Future of India,” writes : “ It goes without saying that from the standpoint of one who believes the Bible to be the Word of God, it will be Christianity.” He attributes to Christianity “ human laws, strict justice combined with mercy, . . . . . political freedom, social order, the elevation of women, care of children, of the poor, and of the suffering.” The writer further states :—

“ The inevitable result, as might be expected in the case of a highly intellectual, religious and critical race is, that a great transformation is taking place in their attitude towards Christianity as well as towards the religion of their forefathers, which is beginning to be looked upon as an anachronism in the current century. The cry of educated India, resentful, despairing, sympathetic, or jubilant, as the case may be from the standpoint of its several sections is *tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur cum illis*.” The writer declares “ Religious neutrality in Indian politics is not only a necessary condition in the present circumstances, but the wisest policy, as it conserves the highest interests of personal well-being. It is doing what compulsion could never have accomplished.”

I shall now carefully consider whether the statements made and the conclusions arrived at by the writer, are based upon irrefragable arguments and unimpeachable testimony. It is my purpose to discuss all these points in a series of articles, so far as my limited knowledge and little capacity allow me to describe the intellectual and social changes now visible in India. But first let me examine the Bible and the many Christian creeds, formularies and assertions, which the writer under notice has so much extolled at the expense of different creeds. I must premise by saying that I am not going to write a book on Theology. At the same time, it is inexplicable how one would look upon a code as infallible, when, as a matter of fact, many of its assertions are exploded by the fierce light of scientific discoveries. It is evident that ministers of the Christian Church now meet with no little difficulty in reconciling their doctrines with the changed condition of human knowledge. The present intellectual condition of Europe has produced in the minds of the educated classes, not excepting the leaders of the Church, that the vast amount of delusion and superstition once received the sanction of the Church and were claimed to be infallible. The Copernican theory asserting that the earth is not the centre of the universe and the discovery of the telescope proving how infinitesimally small a place the earth occupies in the cosmos, have profoundly altered the theological beliefs in Europe. The steady growth of scientific knowledge has relegated to a distant past vast number of phenomena which were formerly credited as something supernatural. To crown all, the Darwinian theory has given a rude shock to the old Christian beliefs. "It is as far as possible removed from the conception of the human history, which Christendom accepted for eighteen centuries as fundamental truth."

A writer thus states :—

"Not many years had passed since the whole drama of the world's history was believed to have been comprised in the frame-work of 'Paradise Lost' and 'Paradise Regained.' Man appeared in the universe a faultless being in a faultless world, but he soon fell from his first estate and his fall entailed world-wide consequences. It introduced into our globe sin, death, suffering, disease, imperfection and decay;

all the mischievous and ferocious instincts and tendencies of man and beast ; all the multitudinous forms of struggle, terror, anxiety, and grief ; all that makes life bitter to any living being, and, even as the fathers were accustomed to say, the briars and weeds and sterility of the earth, 'Paradise Regained' was believed to be indissolubly connected with 'Paradise Lost.' The one was the explanation of the other. The one introduced the disease, the other provided the remedy." The same writer goes on "It is idle to deny that the main outlines of this picture have been wholly changed. First came the discovery that the existence of our globe stretches far beyond the period once assigned to the creation, and that, for countless ages before the time when Adam was believed to have lost Paradise, death had been its most familiar fact and its inexorable law ; that the animals who inhabited it preyed upon and devoured each other as at present, their claws and teeth being specially adapted for that purpose. Even their half-digested remains have been preserved in fossil."

In his *Travels in Sicily* which was published in 1773, the well-known traveller Brydone conjecturing from the deposits of lava that the world must be much older than the Mosaic cosmogony admits, he and his works were denounced on the plea that Brydone was attempting to subvert the foundations of Christianity. Such has unfortunately been the case with many geologists and scientific men whose discoveries run counter to their set notions of beliefs based on their scriptural and theological writings. And it is not surprising that there should be many things in the vast ranges of the ethical and theological writings of other creeds which cannot be reconciled to the modern scientific spirit of the age. Indeed it is a forlorn cause when Bishop Berkeley maintained that the belief that the date of the existence of the world was approximately that which could be deduced from the book of Genesis, was one of the fundamental beliefs which could not be given up. (Alciphron, 6th dialogue). The geologist has falsified the old theory which the book of Genesis once promulgated. Cardinal Newman writes :—

"The Church holds that it were better for Sun and Moon to drop from heaven ; for the earth to fail ; and for all the many



millions who are upon it to die of starvation in extremest agony, so far as temporal affliction goes, than the one soul, I will not say should be lost, but should commit one single venial sin, should tell one wilful untruth, though it harmed no one, or steal one poor farthing without excuse." ("Anglican Difficulties," page 190.) A Christian writer commenting on this passage observes: "Considerations of this kind if duly realised bring out clearly the insincerity and the unreality of much of our professed belief." He states: "According to this principle every elaboration of life, every amusement that brings multitude together, almost every art, every accession of wealth that awakens or stimulates desires is an evil, for all these become the sources of some sins and their advantages are for the most part purely terrestrial." Further on: "He must believe that the evil of the increase of unchastity which invariably results from the formation of an army is an immeasurably greater calamity than any national or political disasters that army can possibly avert." The commentator continuing: "A sovereign when calculating the consequences of war should reflect that a single sin occasioned by that war, a single blasphemy of a wounded soldier, the robbery of a single hen-coop, the violation of the purity of a single woman is a greater calamity than the ruin of an entire commerce of his nation, the loss of her most precious provinces, the destruction of all her power."

What moral and sublime truths are inculcated and perpetuated by a Pope when he ordered Vasari to paint the murder of Coligny on the walls of the Vatican as among the triumphs of the Church. I do not know whether the writer under notice is a missionary. I presume he is not, as I find that he approves the policy of religious neutrality by the great British Government. It would be interesting to briefly relate here how much the British Indian Government dreaded the missionaries. In 1793 at the time of the renewal of the charter of the Hon'ble Company, Wilberforce made an attempt to insert some clauses into it to the effect that it was incumbent on the part of the Anglo-Indian rulers to provide for the religious and moral improvement of the natives of India and that the Court of Directors should send out and maintain missionaries and school masters, chaplains and ministers of their own

creed. The East India Directors and proprietors were alarmed at the proposal ; and their love for the missionaries was manifested in their vehement opposition which resulted in the dropping out of the clauses.

As late as 1813 Parliament "threw open the doors of India to missionary efforts." There was a great preponderance of Anglo-Indian opinion against it, and Warren Hastings also opposed it. A writer commenting on it observes :—

"But although India was from this time thrown open to numerous missionary enterprises, the law forbade and forbids, in terms much stricter than would be employed in British legislation, any word or act which could wound religious feelings, and the State endeavours to maintain its own religious neutrality, and to abstain as far as possible from any act that could conflict with the religious feelings, observances, and customs of the subject races." After the suppression of what is known as the Indian Mutiny of 1857, an attempt was made and no opportunity was lost sight of to open India for evangelisation under the auspices of the Government. An influential and powerful party was formed and Colonel Herbert Edwardes, one of the most distinguished Indian soldiers, attributed the outbreak of the Mutiny to the neglect of the Government in bringing home Christian truths to the Indians. Their proposals were that the English should cease to administer Hindu and Mahomedan laws and countenance Hindu and Mahomedan processions ; that all endowments of native religions from public money and all legal recognition of caste should cease ; and that the Bible should be compulsorily taught in all Government schools. And, further, the policy of the Government should be to eliminate all unchristian principles. Happily our beloved Sovereign Her gracious Imperial Majesty Victoria the Good directly intervened. It is stated by Bosworth Smith that in the Proclamation which was issued in 1858, the Sovereign had a direct action in framing the following remarkable passages :—

"We do strictly charge and enjoin on all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with religious beliefs and worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure."

According to Sir William Hunter the Portuguese came to India as knights-errant and crusaders who looked upon every pagan as an enemy of Christ and consequently their downfall in India was accelerated and assured. "The English," Lord Macartney declared, "Never attempt to disturb or dispute the worship or tenets of others ....." It was the steady policy of the British Government in India for a long time "to discourage proselytism by a grave danger to public order." There may be persons who may differ much or doubt about the utility of the progress of religious liberty in State matters. But it is significant that with the progress of democracy the conceptions of Government have materially changed. And in the words of Judge Story "The Catholic and Protestant, the Calvinist and the Armenian, the Jew and the Infidel (I may add a Parsi and a Hindu) may sit down at the common table of the national councils without any inquisition into their faith or mode of worship." And it is now almost recognised that "the true right of nations is the recognition of the full right of each nationality to acquire and maintain a separate existence."

Where this is not done or its principle is discarded, a kind of slavery is introduced and tyranny and oppression become the result. Had our British rulers, whose acts pre-eminently bear the stamp of unimpeachable statesmanship, followed the alluring counsel of the missionaries, perhaps the permanence of the British rule would have been violently shaken and disturbed. No one need startle at this statement.

The mutinies at Vellore (in Madras) in 1806 and the last outbreak in 1857 at several places of India owe their origin to religious fanaticism. In the words of Lord Roberts "The recent researches of Mr. Forrest in the records of the Government of India prove that the lubricating mixture used in preparing the cartridges was actually composed of the objectionable ingredients, cow's fat and lard, and that incredible disregard of the soldiers' religious prejudices was displayed in the manufacture of these cartridges."

It is the proudest achievement and crown of glory to those British Indian rulers whose wise and sagacious policy in not paying heed to the missionary's propagandising that the success and permanence of the blessed rule has been

so secured on the affections and in the contentment of the countless millions of subjects. I firmly believe that since the Roman Empire no secular Government has been so skilfully managed and administered on just and equitable principles as has been the case with the tolerant and enlightened Government in India and in Egypt. Peace, plenty and comfort now smile in every home. The pleasant aspect of the modern civilisation is valued and appreciated. Improved circumstances and conduct are now the chief and almost the only measure of progress.

Much has been made of the services of the missionaries in suppressing the barbarous practice of immolating the Hindu widow in the funeral pyre of her husband known as the *Suttee* rite. They are much exaggerated. As a matter of fact, the immolation of Hindu women within the British dominion had long occupied the thoughts of the British Governors when the influence of the missionaries in this country was not dreamt of. It is the benignant British rulers who should be greatly thanked for the removal of this obnoxious practice, although there is no question that the enlightened section of the community be it Christian or otherwise had cordially seconded the efforts of the Government. Lord Cornwallis directed public servants to withhold their consent to anyone who would come to them for permission about the burning of a widow. Lord Wellesley consulted the Judges about the supreme importance of suppressing it, but the Judges feared. While disclaiming all intention to forbid it, Lord Minto in 1813 introduced some limitations with the ulterior object to make the barbarous practice a thing of the past while at the same time so far as conditions of things warrant to diminish its present form of severity. Free consent of the widow is essential, minor's consent counts nothing and the victim must not be a pregnant. Despite these limitations and enactments, the practice went on as before. Lord William Bentinck, in 1829, after consulting with the Judges and greatly encouraged by the assurance of the Hindu sepoys, succeeded in suppressing it. It has been stated that by suppressing this inhuman practice the Government has interfered with the religious customs of the Hindus. I do not believe in this.

I am of opinion that even if there has not been a law of repression to suppress it, it would have ceased to exist under the pressure of many forces that have come into prominence with the spirit of the age. And the efficaciousness of the repressive law is in harmony with prevailing tendencies and habits. Educated Indians now feel grateful to the Government that has stepped into this matter. I am fully cognisant that the connexion between morals and religion on one side and legislation and administration on the other is a wide subject, and it is unsafe to lay down any fixed or general principles. To my view, the actions of Lord Minto and Lord William Bentinck are founded on sound principles. The repressive laws which they have enacted are not obtruded on by those for whom they are enforced. Of course it is an unprecedented thing for the Government to lay particular stress and to undertake what kinds of morals are to be practised by the people. But when class tyranny and oppression prevails to an unusual degree, the Government which represents all classes and sects should step in. I think it is impossible at the same time to lay down any inflexible rule on this subject. I do not wish any farther to dwell on this topic. I must stop here. In my next article I shall deal at *seriatim* other points raised in this connection.

Before, however, I conclude this article I shall turn my attention, for a while, to a brief examination of the marriage laws that govern Europe. It is not my purpose, at present, to compare the two systems—Hindu and European—as it will lead me into a wide field of discussion which at the end of the article I must avoid entering into. But at the same time I think it is worth while to enquire into and judge for ourselves, the Occidental system which is likely to be implanted with the introduction of Christianity and the practice of Christian forms of worship, etc. As for Hindu marriage customs, I do not claim them to be free from all blemishes and faults, for with the degeneracy and humiliating condition of the Hindus, that they have been affected to a degree is quite apparent. While all this can be said in their favour there can be no question that the old Hindu ideal and conception of marriage even now influence, in no small measure, their present-day practices. A few years ago, a Hindu

convert, the late Babu Joygobinda Shome, M.A., B.L., discussed "Hindu Marriage Customs" at an influential and representative meeting of Hindus held at our (the writer and his late lamented elder brother Maharaj-Kumar Nilkrishna Deb Bahadur's) house, and presided over by the distinguished scholar and antiquarian, the late Raja Dr. Rajendralala Mitter, LL.D., C.I.E. Babu Joygobinda Shome's essay on "Hindu Marriage Customs," together with the learned Chairman's comments and other speeches of the distinguished Indian gentlemen were published and freely distributed at the time. Much useful information can be gathered from it on this question. I do not decry the Christian marriage laws and customs. It is far from my intention to do so. Besides I am, so to speak, as a Hindu, not qualified to judge dispassionately the Occidental system. Not only does it presents to me novel kind of practices but many of its proceedings will be quite unintelligible. But not only on account of its novelty, do I fight shy of its introduction to our society, but there are grounds, which I shall presently bring forward to show that the Occidental system cannot, with any safety and without any danger to society, be incorporated and introduced. I fully believe, so far as human happiness and the prospect of material civilisation are concerned, that the ideal of Christian marriage is among the noblest of human conceptions. Its effect on society and on civilisation is obvious. To a moralist nothing conduces to or secures so much for the social, political, and moral well-being of a nation as the marriage tie. It has been aptly described as the special seed-plot of the conditions of the best virtues of the community, the foundation-stone on which social systems must rest. It is that which affects most closely and most constantly the daily happiness of life. Nothing promotes, like marriage, a ready and voluntary sacrifice to become agreeable and endearing to each other and a complete identification of feelings, sentiments, and interests. The vast number of novels and dramas so unceasingly pouring out from all parts of Christendom, depict the relation of the sexes and thereby promulgate and preach a kind of morals which although they produce a pleasing, agreeable, and soothing result are not the kind of morals that are usually commended

by the doctrines and teachings of the Church. Altogether the relation of the sexes has vastly changed. Marriage is now more under the grasp and control of the civil authorities ; the State claims for itself the power of determining the conditions on which alone it can be recognised, and they are not always those of the Church. The marriage problem and the present-day complications that have arisen in this connection are too serious to be lightly passed over. Indeed it is true, that from a very early period many wranglings and controversies have been carried on over this question. On the side of the Church it is maintained that marriage is a sacrament, and those who dispute this theory contend that it is nothing else but a purely civil business and transaction where the consent of the two parties, without any religious ceremonies at all, constitutes a valid marriage. It must be acknowledged, however, that only very slowly has the Church acquired a complete control over this field. In the early part of the middle ages, the ecclesiastical party did not contend for the principle which they subsequently did. It is stated that from the period of the Council of Trent and more especially among Catholics, it became obligatory for the validity of marriage to obtain the direct participation of ecclesiastics. After that it was a widely received doctrine that a Protestant marriage was regarded as "simple concubinage." Perrone, who is looked upon as the chief Ultramontane expounder of the Catholic doctrines on matrimony, declares that "civil marriage wherever the Council of Trent has been published, is in its nature a base concubinage, and all who pass their lives united only by a civil marriage are open to the penalties decreed by the Church against those who are living in public concubinage." And he pronounces the legislation of those countries, which have admitted civil marriage, to be utterly opposed to the doctrines of the Church. The late Mr. Gladstone in his article on Vaticanism cited a passage of Pope Pius IX, who declared civil marriage to be "filthy concubinage," but in 1741 Pope Benedict XIV. made an exception in the case of Holland. It is related if one of the parties become a Catholic, he is fully entitled to enter again into matrimony.

I will here cite only two remarkable cases that took place in Brazil, one in 1847 and the other in about 1856. A Catholic woman had been married to a Protestant in Paris, and they had been married civilly, and before a Protestant minister. They then emigrated to Brazil. After six or seven years, the woman desired to marry a Catholic and the ecclesiastical authorities declared the present marriage null and void. In the other case, which led to a change in the marriage law of Brazil, a Swiss Protestant and a German Protestant had been, as they fondly imagined, duly married by the evangelical pastor at Rio Janeiro. The woman subsequently was converted to Catholicism. After twelve years, the woman desired to take another husband, and the Bishop of the place pronounced that her former marriage, having been null and void, she had full right to marry again.

In England, before the Marriage Act of 1753, a simple consent and cohabitation without any religious ceremony, was deemed valid. During the Commonwealth marriage was purely civil; and a law of Charles II. pronounced these marriages to be valid without any fresh solemnization (*see* Glassen, *Le Mariage Civil et le Divorce*, 1879, pp. 34-7). Divorce even in cases of adultery was not then permitted by law. The wife of the Marquis of Northampton having been convicted of adultery there was separation *a mensa et thoro* and the Marquis wanted to marry again. A Commission was instituted, consisting of ten Bishops with the Archbishop of Canterbury at its head. While the enquiry was going on he (the Marquis) married again and there was a special Act of Parliament confirming the marriage. After much debate the Commission also confirmed this marriage. With the accession of Mary this special Act of Parliament was repealed (Burnet's *History of the Reformation*). Even in cases of adultery, divorce was not then admitted in law and special Acts of Parliament granted it in particular instances. It would be too tedious to my readers and foreign to my purpose to give a comprehensive treatment on the subject of marriage, from its early times to the present day among Christians. Sufficient it is for me to point out the steady decline of the theological influence over the question and the introduction in to the legislation of European countries of a principle which



is so fundamentally opposed to the teaching of the Church. A writer on this question happily puts it "if marriage be viewed only in the light of a civil contract and nothing else, why should it not be dissolved if both parties agree to do so? And although the law is bound to prevent one party from violating a contract it is silent when both parties are consenting." Continuing, he said, "of all contracts it is that which is frequently entered into under the influence of blinding passions, and at an age when experience and knowledge of life are immature, and it is a contract in which happiness and misery mainly depend upon conditions of character and temper that are often most imperfectly disclosed."

It is melancholy to observe that the fears and misgivings thus entertained by the writer have been too painfully verified. In France the divorce laws of 1884 have been largely used. People have now recourse more to divorce than to judicial separation. Some interesting statistics on the subject in the British Foreign Office are here given. From July 1884 to the end of December 1891, there were applications for divorce to the extent of 45,822, of which 40,200 cases were granted (*Return of Numbers of Divorces in Foreign Countries*). It is stated that the example of France will have great influence on the whole Latin race and when it is once established in France it will widely spread through all Catholic nations. And in America it is spreading far and wide. According to Mr. Woolsey every change of legislation in the United States increases the number of divorces. If there is any principle in our legislation it is not a moral one of reverence for the most sacred institution of the family and of married life, but it is a desire to afford relief to the so-called "innocent" party. It is interesting, however, to observe that divorce is defended, among other grounds, on the fact that it is a system under which marriages may be very often contracted and very easily dissolved,—this reason may not in itself be good but it is the best means of preventing, perhaps, a greater evil. I fully agree with those writers who dispute this kind of reasoning,—consider them to be very questionable and not a little dangerous.

If the question is viewed in another aspect the so-called "freedom of women" is not a little affected in the long run

by the spread of the system of divorce. She, as a matter of fact, in the long run becomes a loser and poorer. Her happiness is generally bound up with domestic life. The history of the many divorces shamefully disclose that most frequently the women, who form the larger number of petitioners, suffer through the wanton caprices of men. Many good judges view, with serious alarm and affliction, the spread of the so-called "socialistic and democratic" spirit in this direction.

*(To be continued.)*

RAJA BINAYA KRISHNA DEB.

## Art. VII.—THE EARLY DAYS OF STEAM NAVIGATION ON INDIAN WATERS.

### PART I. THE YEAR 1823.

OF the many movements which tend to the shaping of a country's destiny it is always probable that the most important will escape the attention of the historian or else be treated by him with far too slight a hand. In studying the history of British India no factor requires more attention than does the development of the means of communication between England and the East. A Governor-General who has to wait six months for instructions from his masters at Leadenhall Street, while they in turn must wait another six for his despatches, is, of necessity, a ruler of a kind very different from the Viceroy who can be reached at any time by the electric cable. An Indian Empire which can, within a few weeks, mobilise an army in South Africa or China is far removed from the days when anxious Governors looked out wistfully to the sea for the reliefs which, perhaps, would never come. If the attitude of the Government had in the early days been favourable to the introduction of railways, it is probable that India would have been spared much of the horror of the Mutiny. And beneath all matters of external circumstance and rule, there has to be considered the powerful influence of rapid communication between India and England on the lives of the rulers and ruled. Yet it is possible for popular writers to give us books on the days of the early Victorian Governors-General from which any account of the communications between England and India is absent.

In regard to internal communications by railway, although the attitude of Hardinge and Dalhousie may be described as enlightened, yet it has been stated that the Government on the whole were inclined to offer a cold welcome to the enthusiastic promoters of an India railway policy. It is easy for us to understand this if we remember at the present day the difficulties which would at once arise if some public spirited

person were once more to advocate the building of another bridge across the Hughli or the erection of a central railway station at Calcutta. But even so, we should fail to do justice to the men of the twenties and thirties of the last century. We have to carry ourselves back to the days when the Company were not wholly forgetful of the hole of the pit whence they were digged. In regard to railway enterprise, as well as in regard to steam navigation, the Company men were haunted by the dread of a monster akin in horror to the fabulous creation of Frankenstein. What the "interloper" had been to the members of the first London Company of Merchants, the private capitalist was to the cautious servant of John Company in the thirties: the "interloper" had at least been a reality, but the private capitalist, more often quoted than seen, might be nothing more than some irresponsible gang of London company-mongers who would, at the cost of an ignorant and gullible public, cover India with a network of unused and needless railways and then, when dividends were suggested, vanish into thin air. A rooted disbelief in the power of private enterprise to accomplish great ends, and a consequent unwillingness to adopt schemes based on assurances held suspect in no small degree, accounts for the slow development of a policy of rapid communication both between England and India, as well as to an internal railway policy.

The history of the Indian railways has certainly received some attention, but that of the communication with Europe by steam navigation has, so far as the present writer can ascertain, been ignored. The meagre and somewhat disjointed notes brought together in this place may perhaps be of use to any student who should at some future time take up the latter subject. To deal with the subject at all adequately would require not only an amount of leisure which is not the present writer's, but a knowledge of the history of ship-building and access to the records of not only the Government dockyards but those of the older shipping firms. All these qualifications are denied the present writer, and he can, therefore, do nothing more than offer the following "notes" for the consideration of those who can make some further use of them or for

the amusement of those who delight to catch the echoes of bygone Calcutta.

The two most active leaders—the pioneers—of the steam navigation movement in Calcutta were undoubtedly Thomas Waghorn and Captain James Henry Johnston. Waghorn's name, as that of the founder of the overland route, is famous. Waghorn was born in 1800 just two years before William Symmington launched his experimental steam tug in the Firth of Clyde Canal, and five years before Robert Fulton, after several unsuccessful experiments on the Seine, fitted up a steamer on the Hudson, and brought steam navigation within the range of commercial success. After serving in the Navy from 1812 to 1817, Waghorn entered the ranks of the Royal Bengal Pilots, and from that time forward he became an enthusiastic promoter of every great scheme for shortening the tedious length of the home voyage by the introduction of steam-propelled vessels and the opening up of an overland route.

James Henry Johnston was born in 1787. His first ship was the *Spartinate* and in her he saw active service at Trafalgar, and during the operations off the Italian coast in 1809. In 1811 he was appointed Lieutenant of the *Canopus*, and three years later he was appointed to the *Leveret*. After some time on half-pay he went out to Calcutta to take command of the *Prince Blucher*, and on her he twice made the homeward voyage and back. In 1821 he attempted to found a Sailors' Home in this city, and the attempt, although unsuccessful, yet had the good result of securing for its projector the attention of the Marquess of Hastings. Johnston was appointed Marine Storekeeper, and a little while after, Commissioner in the Court of Requests, but apparently he went home before taking up the latter appointment. It was on this visit to England that Johnston came prominently forward as an advocate of steam communication. In 1823 the Captain returned to Calcutta and laid his plans before the Governor-General.

While Waghorn and Johnston are thus preparing their schemes, we may take notice of the earliest steamers on the Hughli waters.

From the Calcutta *John Bull*, 14th July 1823. "At exactly nine minutes past four (12th July) the first steam vessel which was floated on the waters

of the East, left the docks at Kyd's yard, Kidderpore.\* She went off in a slow majestic time, without the smallest confusion or accident. The company was by no means numerous, and little creditable to the male population of Calcutta—consisting chiefly of ladies, who appeared highly delighted with the scene. The vessel sits well on the water, and is a great ornament to the river. She has our most sincere and earnest wishes for her success; and we hail her as the harbinger of future vessels of her kind, who will waft us to our native shores with speed and pleasure. She was named the *Diana* (*Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XVII, p. 195).

Very shortly after the ceremony of her launching, we read of the *Diana* taking the Danish Governor, Colonel Krefting, from Chandpal Ghât to Chinsurah in about six or seven hours against a tide running six or seven knots an hour. The newspaper describes the excited crowds of natives who lined the river banks to witness the novel spectacle. (*Ibid.*, p. 280, and Sandeman: *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. V, p. 586.)

"We are happy in having it in our power to furnish an additional proof of the utility and capability of the *Diana* steam vessel. She left Culpee at 10 o'clock on Monday morning, having the following passengers on board lately arrived in the H. C. S. *Thomas Grenville*, viz.: Lady Macnaghten, Mrs. Col. Paul McGregor, Misses Paton, Shakespear, and Macnaghten; she reached the town before 5 o'clock. We need scarcely point out how very much is gained by this velocity. Ordinary boats, affording sufficient accommodation for the ladies, would have taken from five days to a week to perform what the *Diana* has done in seven hours. The thing speaks for itself; and we may add that the attention and consideration bestowed on his passengers by her Commander are duly appreciated, and cannot fail in procuring him the countenance and encouragement of all who, for pleasure or business, are compelled to make long aquatic excursions.

"On Tuesday the *Steam Vessel* proceeded down the river for H. Compton, Esq., Advocate-General and family, just arrived from Madras" 9th October 1823. (Sandeman: *Op. cit.*, pp. 560-61.)

In the very month in which the *Diana* was launched, Calcutta folk were informed by the *Liverpool Advertiser* of 18th March:—

"We understand a new steam vessel is now building on the Thames intended for Calcutta. Her engine and boiler occupy one-fifth part of the usual space; her furnace, consuming its own smoke, will perform with one bushel, what formerly took one chaldron of coals; her boiler is constructed to return its own steam, without one particle escaping, so that *once fitted it is enough for the voyage*, which it is calculated she will perform in *six weeks!!!* The vessel is about 500 tons register, and 60 tons of coals will be sufficient for the voyage.\* This extraordinary invention is by Mr. Perkins, the American, and has been approved of Sir Humphrey Davy, Dr. Woolaston, and the most eminent engineers in the Kingdom."

The year 1823 thus is memorable for the launching of the first steamer in Eastern waters. But the *Madras Courier* had

\* The derivation of Kidderpore from the Kyd's is a blunder.

circulated a report which must have given excited Britons in India a subject for even warmer congratulation.

"A letter from an esteemed friend, dated India House, 27th November [1822], informs us that a contract has been tendered to the Court of Directors to convey their despatches to and from India in Steam Packets, *vid* Cairo, to be on the passage only 29 days! A director of leading influence says,—“he told me that the proposal was under consideration, and would certainly be adopted.”

On this *John Bull* commented :

"Having observed a paragraph in the Calcutta papers from the *Madras Courier*, stating that a proposal had been made for the conveyance of the mails to England in twenty days, I was not a little staggered, and looked upon the account as a hoax, or, to say the least, as an idle idea. Upon considering the subject further, however, and referring to charts, I was still more astonished to find that the communication may be conducted even more speedily still. The distance from Bombay to the entrance of the Red Sea is 1,440 miles, and from thence to Suez 1,260 miles, together making 2,700 miles. A good steam boat may average 150 miles a day, and thus would reach Suez in 18 days. For crossing the Isthmus, a distance of about 300 miles, and the changing of ships, etc., six or seven days more would be necessary to arrive at Cairo or Alexandria. From thence in direct line to Venice is 1,260 miles, which would require eight days, and another eight days would be amply sufficient to travel overland from Venice to London.

"The requisite time will then be :—

From Bombay to Suez	...	...	18 days.
From Suez to Alexandria	...	...	6 "
From Alexandria to Venice	...	...	8 "
From Venice to London	...	...	8 "
Total			40 "

"This estimate is made upon a vessel calculated for passengers ; but if a packet establishment alone were to be formed, then the voyage could be shortened one-half at least. If the long-talked-of canal were to be cut, uniting the Red Sea and Mediterranean, five or six days could be saved, and the voyage to India would be reduced from four or five months to 15 or 11 days, which if only carried into effect for letters, would be of infinite advantage to the commercial community, even if the postage were increased to five or six times its present amount. But the idea is delightful, that the day may arrive when a man may take three months' leave of absence, and yet may enjoy one month at home. The plan is far from being unfeasible and the facilities are particularly great for its prosecution. The fuel requisite for the purpose would occupy a very inconsiderable space, for Steam Vessels from America have frequently made voyages of an equal length lately. That from Philadelphia to Liverpool may be cited as an instance, and the distance is, I believe, if anything greater than that from Bombay to Suez, and certainly greater than that from Alexandria to Venice.

"The distance from Bombay to Suez is short of 3,000 miles, and would be run in a quick Steam Boat during the north-east monsoon in fourteen or fifteen days with ease. The passage across the Isthmus from Suez to Alexandria is performed under three days, and in the event of its becoming a regular route, to and from India, with agents at each of the above places, it might easily be performed in two. Another Steam Vessel being in

readiness at Alexandria, would start immediately across the Mediterranean through the Adriatic for Venice. The distance does not exceed 1,200 miles, and might be got over in six days, making in all twenty-three days from Bombay to Venice. During the north-east monsoon, a good Steam Boat would run from Suez to the Sandheads in twenty-one days; consequently an individual might in eight days more be in Venice, and certainly in eight days more in London. That in practice the time here specified would be reduced we feel certain. The advantages of this communication with England are so certain and so manifest, that we really wonder it has never yet been attempted, even under all the disadvantages of the intricate navigation of the Red Sea. These difficulties, however, being overcome by the aid of steam, we cannot conceive what argument can be produced against the attempt. As we have now a Steam Boat at the Presidency, we would recommend her making the experiment. We do not know her size, or capability, but surely she must be equal to a passage down the Bay during the settled part of the north-east monsoon. Suppose, then, she started from Saugor on the 20th of November next, by which time a communication might be forwarded to Suez, to have the insured means of conveyance to Alexandria ready. By this we should be enabled practically to ascertain the time required to reach the latter place, and also some experience of whatever inconveniences might attach to the project. At Alexandria, vessels from the different parts of Italy are always to be found; by which conveyance would be had to Europe; and we have no doubt that if this suggestion is attended to, despatches might reach India House in two months.

"If the Steam Vessel now at Calcutta is equal to the voyage, we can have no doubt that there are many enterprising men who would be happy to take a passage on her, by which means after their arrival at any port in Italy, the journey to London would be a jaunt of pleasure, hurried or retarded according to the choice of each individual. The expense, too, of this mode of returning to England would be reduced at least one-half. No preparation for a long voyage would be required, the less luggage the better. We presume, for so short a distance in a large Steam Boat fitted alone for passengers, that standing beds would be most commodious, but these are details hardly yet requiring notice. The main point to establish is the practicability, and this we imagine we have done. We shall be certainly anxious to learn the details of the plan said to have been submitted to the Court of Directors; and should feel pleased to anticipate the practice of this shortened communication—by a conveyance of despatches to the India House in two months—during the approaching north-east monsoon" (Sandeman : *op. cit.*, pp. 539-42.)

At this stage the enthusiasts were presented with a serious difficulty—the liability of steam-vessels passing infected Eastern ports being placed in quarantine. "We do not," wrote the *Gazette* on 5th June; "anticipate the supersession of the old route, excepting, perhaps, in a limited degree; and though the scheme said to have been proposed to the Court of Directors for the transmission of despatches, may not be feasible in so short a period as 28 days, still if even two months were consumed in the journey, the advantages would be highly important to the political and commercial world."



Enthusiasm, however, had reached such a stage, that in the autumn of 1823 a number of eminent Calcutta residents petitioned the Sheriff (W. H. Macnaughten) to convene a public meeting at which the subject of steam communication might be discussed. It has also been only too usual for editors to omit giving the names of signatories to petitions of this kind and students of Calcutta history are consequently the losers.

We shall, therefore, give here the names of the petitioners on this occasion :—

J. H. Harington.  
J. Pattle.  
C. Lumsden.  
H. Shakespear.  
J. Shakespear.  
J. Paton.  
Holt Mackenzie.  
John Hayes.  
Wm. Bruce.  
J. P. Larkins.  
R. Saunders.  
Wm. Arrow.  
H. Hobbhouse.  
J. Palmer.  
R. Roberts.  
G. J. Gordon.  
G. Ballard.

Nath. Alexander.  
Robt. McClintock.  
C. A. Lindsay.  
G. Mackillop.  
Alex. Colvin.  
D. Clark.  
Jas. Calder.  
J. Cullen.  
C. Blaney.  
Tho. Allport.  
W. B. Bailey.  
W. Patrick.  
J. Hunter.  
Robt. Boon.  
Saml. Ashmore.  
J. Mellis.

We will now give an account of this memorable meeting.

### STEAM NAVIGATION.

#### *Meeting at the Town Hall.*

(Wednesday, November 5, 1823.)

A VERY numerous and highly respectable Meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta was held yesterday at the Town Hall, agreeably to requisition, to consider the feasibility of establishing a communication between India and the mother country, by means of steam navigation. After the requisition had been read by the Sheriff, he proposed that the Meeting should proceed to elect a Chairman, and suggested that Captain Johnston would not be exactly a fit person, as he would have to enter into explanations, and to satisfy the Meeting on points connected with the practicability of the proposed scheme. Mr. Holt Mackenzie was proposed as Chairman, but declined accepting the office. He stated that he was utterly incompetent to discuss or to decide on the merits of the question they were met there to consider, and he should, therefore, propose a gentleman who was more competent by age, by character, and rank in society, to fill the chair on this occasion. He begged to propose Mr. Harington. With respect to Lieutenant Johnston, he imagined that he must be called upon, as has been stated, to give explanations as to the feasibility of his plan, and to take, in short, a very active part in the discussion they were about to engage in, and he therefore could not be a fit person to fill the office of Chairman, whose duty it was rather to preserve order, and to regulate the Meeting, than to take any prominent part in the discussion.

Mr. Harington, having been accordingly elected to the chair, rose and addressed the Meeting to the following effect:—He stated that he must commence by a confession that he knew little more on the merits of this question than he had gathered from what had already appeared in print here, and he might indeed say, that all he had heard was on one side of the question. From his friend Lieutenant Johnston he had naturally learnt all the reasons that tended to shew the feasibility of his scheme. He need scarcely, he imagined, state that he perfectly coincided in the sentiments of his friend in appreciating the advantages that would accrue to passengers going from, or coming to this country, to the interest of the Commercial body, and to the private intercourse of friends and relations in India and Great Britain from the success of his plan. On its practicability, however, he was unable to decide, or indeed to discuss at all the merits of the question. His deficiency in this respect, would, however, be amply compensated for by the talents of his friend, Lieutenant Johnston, and by the intimate knowledge of the subject he must have acquired, by having devoted several years to the consideration of it. He would give the Meeting every information they might wish for on this interesting question. For himself, he was anxious to hear stated the objections that might exist to the practicability of the scheme; for he thought they should all be urged, and considered. It would be for the Meeting, he conceived, to decide on this point, *viz.*, the feasibility or the infeasibility of it; and then to leave it to Committee to consider of the means of carrying the scheme into effect, if it should be deemed practicable; or if, on the other hand, it should be decided to be the reverse, then the proceeding in the matter might terminate at once in that Meeting. Mr. Harington observed that his own idea differed from the opinions of his friend, Lieutenant Johnston, as to the mode of first attempting the communication proposed by him; he, Mr. Harington, thought, that instead of two vessels on this side of the Isthmus, under the control of a Committee here, and two more on the other side of it, under the management of a Committee at home, it would be better, in the first instance, to have only one boat on each side of the Isthmus, both under the control of one company here; the funds required for this plan would not be greater than for the other; and though they should commence on this limited scale, it would be easy to extend their plan, should success encourage it. The only important doubt seemed to him to be, whether the scheme be or be not practicable on the whole without danger of loss; he would not say, hope of profit, because he took it for granted that the object of the scheme was rather to promote their comforts, and the celerity of their intercourse with the mother country, than the attainment of emolument; and it would only be necessary therefore on engaging in the scheme to see that they should be indemnified against loss. Mr. Harington then stated the amount of capital that he conceived would be necessary to embark on the undertaking, in the manner suggested by him, but our reporter could not distinctly hear the sum mentioned. He concluded by again expressing his hope, that if any Gentlemen present had any objections to advance against the feasibility of the proposed scheme, they would come forward and state them, that they might then be able to determine whether it were advisable or not, to go further into the consideration of it; and, if it were deemed practicable, at once appoint a Committee to consider the means of carrying it into effect.

Lieutenant Johnston, R.N., then presented himself to the Meeting, and after stating that it was the first time he had ever appeared before so numerous an assembly, with the purpose of addressing it, he expressed his fears that had he trusted to his memory, he might have omitted much that he wished to say on the important and interesting question they had

met to discuss, and he should, therefore, with their permission, read from a written paper what he deemed it necessary to address to them on this occasion. He then read from a paper in his hand as follows :—

Gentlemen,—On perusing the report of the British House of Commons, drawn up in Committee on the very interesting subject, to which, with due respect, I have ventured to call the attention of the Indian Public, I mean the possibility of navigating the largest seas in Steam Vessels, I became convinced of its practicability, and by degrees of the superior advantages in point of safety as well as expedition, which must follow the introduction of a communication by Steam Vessels between ourselves and the parent State.

A Prospectus, of which copies are lying on the table, has been drawn up from the best information with respect to the probable expenses which would be attendant on such an establishment.

I have therein proposed, that the route should be across the Isthmus of Suez, and I give a preference to this route, first, because in point of distance, it is one-third less than the route by the Cape of Good Hope, the former being eight, the latter thirteen thousand miles ; secondly, by this route vessels would be less exposed to tempests or gales of wind ; and thirdly, because it offers more convenient dépôts for fuel.

In opposition to these advantages, the chief is probably the passage across the Isthmus ; and to persons who have never visited Egypt, this undertaking appears formidable ; the contrary is, however, the case with those who have returned to Europe by that route, and with whom I have had opportunities of conversing.

With a very little labour, a good road might be made for a considerable extent, one already exists ; and if completed there would be no obstacle to the use of comfortable carriages for the performance of the journey. On this subject, I have had the opinion of two very intelligent and competent gentlemen : the one Mr. Biggs, whose name it is sufficient to mention ; the other Mr. Asoona, a Turkish gentleman, ambassador from the Bay of Tripoli, whose acquaintance I made in London.

I inquired of him respecting the expense of Camels and the best means of conveyance ; his answer was, Sir, make the Pasha a present of 2 or 3,000 dollars, and he will order 100,000 men to work, who, within a month or six weeks, will make a carriage road over which you may drive a coach and six : the journey is short, not exceeding 100 miles, and may be performed in two days with ease.

The Plague, for I consider it my duty to bring forward all objections which have presented themselves, in order by discussion to determine whether they really militate against the object of this meeting ; the Plague there is an evil against which every Englishman carries an antidote in his constitution ; it is an evil more terrible in idea than in effect, and the precaution taken by Europeans, in Plague Countries, are effectual in the prevention of it. In the most populous Towns, when visited by the most destructive Plague, Europeans have seldom been known to suffer. In the dreadful Plague which ravaged Malta in 1813, death was confined to the Natives, not one Englishman was affected.

The Plague can only be communicated by contact : the scarlet fever, the measles, the cholera morbus, are a thousand times more to be dreaded, since they cannot be avoided by prudence or precaution. By prosecuting the route proposed in the Prospectus, all Towns, with the exception of Suez, will be avoided ; and the little danger, which might have been dreaded, will, by this arrangement, be removed ; and I may here remark that the Quarantine to which vessels arriving in England from Alexandria, with a clean Bill of Health, are subjected, does not exceed at furthest five days, the time necessary for a reference to the

Privy Council. Under the present Governor, Egypt has been rendered safe to the Traveller: plunder and robbery, with one exception, have for many years, been unheard of; and with a proper escort, no danger of that nature need be apprehended.

Neither do I imagine that any serious inconvenience would result to Travellers or to the Steam Company, from any sudden revolution in the Government of Egypt. Self-interest and pecuniary emolument are the ruling passions; the main springs to action with every Turkish Despot; and the continual arrival and departure of so many passengers would prove too prolific a source of riches, to be sacrificed to caprice. I have never visited Egypt, but I have wandered alone and unarmed in the mountains of Lebanon; I have strayed into the Deserts of Tora, many miles from the Towns, with only a Janissary to attend me; I have encountered tribes of Arabs who have treated me with civility and courtesy. The name of an Englishman is everywhere a safeguard. The inconvenience of changing from one vessel to another, has been mentioned to me as one objection; but a voyage in a Steam Vessel must be considered in a very different light to a voyage in an Indiaman. In this it is necessary to be prepared for five or six months, in that only for as many weeks. The quantity of baggage will be reduced, and I shall propose that the vessels be fitted in all respects alike, and that the Cabins be furnished by, and at the expense of, the Company, with couches, tables, chairs, looking-glasses, &c., &c., so that the passengers will literally be without incumbrance; and the inconvenience of moving from one vessel into another, would be no more than is attendant on a week's visit to Barrackpore whilst the variety of landing once every se'nnight, of obtaining always abundance of good water, milk, and vegetables, would compensate for many little inconveniences, if any should occur. In the Prospectus which lies on the Table, I have calculated the expense of a complete establishment of Steam Vessels on both sides of the Isthmus, adequate to keep up a monthly communication with Europe. It appears to me, however, that the project will be most likely to meet with support, if confined to conveyance of passengers, to El Arish, Catich, or the Lake of Menzelet, if anchorage can there be found, leaving it to British capitalists to form a Company, that will co-operate with the one now proposed; nor can the smallest doubt exist of such co-operation, as even individuals in England certain of meeting with passengers, would undoubtedly send more Steam Vessels to any part of the Mediterranean to embark them.

An arrangement, however, to place beyond a possibility the disappointment of passengers engaging here, will become a consideration of the first importance with the Committee of the proposed Steam Company, should it be formed. To carry this project into effect, I think that two vessels of 400 Tons each, capable of accommodating 25 passengers; each with a dining room under the poop, should be Commissioned from England, and be brought round the Cape of Good Hope. This would give very great confidence to the Indian Community, and these vessels delivered in Calcutta, supposing them to bring out neither freight nor passengers, would cost, hereby as follows:—

2 Vessels of 400 Tons, at £20	...	...	£16,000
4 Engines of 50 horses	...	...	10,000
Contingencies	...	...	2,000
Coals	...	...	2,000
Wages and Victualling	...	...	180
Artificers for 6 months	...	...	800
Commanders and Mates	...	...	800
Insurances on £52,000	...	...	1280

£33,360, or Rupees 333,600.

About three lacs and thirty thousand rupees.

The expense of navigating these vessels for 12 months will probably amount to—

	Rupees.
Insurance on 330,000, at 10 per cent. ...	33,000
Wear and Tear 15 per cent. ...	49,500
Coals for 8 voyages ...	90,000
Packing the Engine Piston ...	4,000
2 Engineers, at 4,000 per annum ...	8,000
2 Ditto, at 3,000 per do. ...	6,000
12 Enginemmen, at 60 per month ...	8,640
24 Seamen, at 25 ...	7,200
Victualling ...	4,000
Table ...	20,000
Commander, ...	7,200
	<hr/> 237,540
Making the annual outlay amount to ...	238,540
Add the expense of passing the Isthmus ...	30,000
	<hr/>
Total ...	268,540

The number of persons leaving Calcutta for England annually, may be estimated on a fair average at about 450 or 500;\* of these, it is not being too sanguine to suppose, we may obtain 12 each voyage: and from Madras 3, leaving Bombay at present out of the question, since an auxiliary vessel will be required to bring from thence any persons desirous of proceeding by a Calcutta Steam Vessel.

I think the charge will be considered moderate if fixed at 1,500 Rupees to the Mediterranean; and 800 thence to England. An equal number may be expected to return at the same charge; and the two vessels will carry in all the year  $15 \times 8 \times 2 = 240$  out and home; which  $\times$  by 1,500, the charge, for their passage, will make Sixca Rupees 360,000, from which deduct an outlay 268,540, a balance will remain in favour of the Company of 91,460, on a capital of 333,000; a profit of nearly 28 per cent. without taking into consideration the carriage of letters, which from this Presidency alone, amount in number to at least one lakh; and supposing a charge to be permitted of 8 annas on each letter, certainly a very light tax, and one that would be readily paid by all persons caring at all for correspondence, the proceeds on this account would amount to 50,000 Rupees, equal to 16 per cent., which added to the 27 per cent. previously calculated, would amount to 43 per cent.; and I feel convinced, that after one or two prosperous voyages, the vessels will always be full of passengers, and that the charge for passage may be very much lowered.

The spirit of enterprise, which has always existed in England, has, perhaps, been increased by the difficulty of employing Capital advantageously. Steam Navigation has certainly become a favourite speculation, offering perhaps a larger profit than can be usually obtained; and this fact induces many persons to imagine, that what is now proposed will very shortly be carried into effect by British Capital, without the interference or exertion of persons in India. A stronger argument cannot perhaps be adduced in favor of the project. I cannot, however, concur in

\* Lieutenant Johnston includes children in this estimate.

the opinion. Capitalists in England are not more easily persuaded to embark their money in schemes which they do not quite comprehend, of which they cannot ascertain the limits, and over which they can have but little or no control, than Capitalists here ; and both like to watch over the progress of the speculation in which they engage, and to know the extent of loss to which they are exposed. India, they would consider as too remote ; the returns would not be sufficiently quick, the undertaking embraces too many contingencies ; the management must be delegated to Agents.

They can hold no security for their adventure, whilst pecuniary emolument is the *only* advantage the English Capitalist expects to derive ; and this calculation, however well it may appear on paper, inspires no confidence in one ignorant of the nature of Indian Society, and of Indian affairs ; and there are indeed very few persons in England who can entertain correct ideas on this subject : those who have returned from India, have for the most part retired from speculations to enjoy quiet, and the Commerce between London and Calcutta is confined principally to six houses of Agency. These would be ready to co-operate. I know their sentiments, and I know their opinion is, that a Company should be formed here.

By what I have advanced, I do not mean decidedly to say that Steam Vessels will never reach India from England, and through the influence of British Capital ; I feel convinced they will, but only after the lapse of several years, they will be extended hither by gradual advances. Madeira will first be visited : then the West Indies, South America, the Cape, and last of all perhaps Calcutta ; but why not anticipate, why not determine at once to enjoy the advantages which such a communication presents ?

The reasoning and the arguments of the British Capitalist will not apply to the Indian Public, here the scheme is understood, the limits of the speculation may be most certainly defined, and it will be under the immediate observation and control of a Committee of management. The utmost loss may be calculated to the fraction of a pie, suppose it to extend to the whole Capital embarked, suppose it even to end in smoke or vapor, or probably to pass away in one grand explosion, the individual loss will not be vexatiously great, and where so desirable an object is to be achieved, surely it is deserving of some risk. But so much for a most improbable possibility. I calculate on considerable emolument as amongst the least advantages ; others will result of the highest importance to all classes.

The Civilian, the Officer whose health requires or whose inclination prompts a visit to his native land, may, with twelve months' leave of absence, pass eight in the bosom of his family. The merchant having business of importance, will no longer be obliged to delegate it to an Agent : he may throw himself with his Portmanteau into a Steam Vessel, transact his business, and in a few *short* weeks resume the seat at his desk without his absence having been felt. Parents anxious for the health or education of their children may, at a comparatively trifling expense, have the happiness of themselves selecting a school for them, and from how much anxiety will those be relieved who have not relations or friends to whom they can with confidence commit so high a charge.

Those who do not visit England, will enjoy the advantage of receiving letters before the antiquity of their date damps in some measure the interest which a letter is calculated to excite. Four months!!! How short a time to look forward to for an answer to a letter on which one's happiness may depend, when compared to the usual term of an year, how delightful to receive in February, details of the movement of the merriments of the preceding Christmas in old England ; how much will this facility of communication tend to keep alive and to strengthen in a family those affections which now, alas, too frequently subside after a few years of separation.

Gentlemen, lay these considerations to your hearts, you will be brought near to your native land: Your comforts, your enjoyments, your luxuries, your own happiness here, that of your friends, your relations and your children at home, must all be promoted by this establishment. How many now lingering under the effects of climate undermining their constitutions, would be able to recover and to enjoy a lengthened period of existence, not only by the speed with which they would return, but having the means which a long voyage, a long absence from their emoluments, pay, and allowances, now prevents them from doing, to look forward to. Gentlemen, you are interested collectively, you are interested individually. You are all of you most strongly interested in the promotion of the establishment. I, too, am particularly interested; I shall enjoy the proud satisfaction of being the projector of an undertaking pregnant with advantages of the highest nature to the India Society.

After Lieutenant Johnston had concluded, the Chairman again called on the Gentlemen of the Meeting to state any objections they might have to advance against what Lieutenant Johnston had stated, but no one came forward.

The Chairman then informed the meeting that Lieutenant Johnston had, in anticipation of the present Meeting, sent into circulation a sketch of two addresses proposed to be delivered, one at the expected Meeting in this Country, and another to the public in England, after he should have been deputed by a Committee here to act for them in the matter (vide *Calcutta Journal* for 22nd September, page 293), and as no Gentleman had come forward to state any objections to Lieutenant Johnston's plan, he (the Chairman) would read, with permission, one of a series of Resolutions subjoined, after some prefatory remarks, to the latter of these intended addresses, which was to have been proposed at home, in the event of the plan having been approved of, and a Committee appointed to carry it into execution here. He should have been glad, however, if some of the Gentlemen present had come forward on this occasion, to deliver their sentiments on the question; because the public would expect them to express the sense of this Meeting, as to whether the proposed scheme is feasible and desirable or not. He had hoped that some of the Members of the Mercantile body, in particular, would have favored the Meeting with their opinions.

(Mr. Mackillop, who was standing near the Chairman, then addressed him, and the Resolution referred to was not read.)

Mr. Mackillop suggested that, perhaps, the establishment of a Company at home and one here, to have control of the Vessels from hence to Cosseir only, leaving the subsequent conveyance of the passengers, &c., to the home Committee would be most advisable.

The Chairman stated that some Gentleman near him had suggested, that there might be some difficulty in getting a Company at home to co-operate with another here.

Mr. Mackillop explained, as far as our Reporter could collect the substance of his remarks, that there was a strong bias, in favor of the plan, amongst the Companies at home; but whether the failure of Mr. Perkin's invention might or might not, have occasioned any change in their opinions, or disposition to encourage it, he could not say.

The Chairman expressed his satisfaction at finding that the scheme was so favorably regarded at home. He thought that the first thing to be done was to decide whether the scheme were or were not feasible; that in short the sense of the Meeting should be taken on this point; and if it were favorable to its feasibility, that a Committee should be appointed as before suggested: if otherwise, that all further consideration of the

subject should be waived. The Chairman then called on Mr. Larkins to state his sentiments.

Mr. Larkins observed that an idea had been started by a Gentleman near him, which really appeared to him so good, that he had no kind of scruple in borrowing it; it had been suggested that a premium of £10,000 should be offered to whoever should send out a steam boat to India, that was if the sum could be raised. It would not be right, perhaps, to offer the sum to any individual because some adventurer might be tempted to run out at all hazards for the sake of the reward, leaving the steam boat to be taken back by whomsoever pleased to conduct her; it should be offered to a company of individuals.

The Chairman wished to know, whether this idea originated in the opinion that the establishment of a Company at home, would be preferable to that of a similar body here.

Mr. Larkins.—No, not precisely in that, but merely as an inducement; I think we are too liberal here, however to carry on any thing of the sort.

Mr. Hobhouse observed that the object of the inducement was to get the steam packets here. If they were already out in the country, of course we might establish a company, and send them away immediately. But he conceived that the great difficulty was to get them out here round the Cape. How were they to come out?

Lieutenant Johnston would undertake to get them out; he had already stated, that nothing but want of funds had prevented his attempting it before.

Mr. Paton thought that if a Committee were appointed, as the amount of the whole expense was known, that they might fix the number and value of the shares.

Mr. Larkins remarked, that £10,000 would induce many persons at home to engage in the undertaking.

Mr. John Hunter proposed that the one-half should be paid here on the arrival, and the other beforehand in England, to assist in the outfit.

Mr. Larkins begged to put the motion distinctly to the Meeting that a certain premium be offered to the first Company or Society that shall bring out a Steam Vessel, and establish the communication between India and Great Britain, leaving the route open to their choice.

Mr. Holt Mackenzie seconded the motion. He observed that it was generally allowed that large and unwieldy Societies manage their affairs badly; and it might therefore be very fairly assumed, considering the disadvantages which a Society of this kind, formed in India, would labor under the difficulty of assembling, the uncertainty of the continuance here of its Members, that the proposed plan, if entrusted to the management of such a body, would be badly carried into effect and badly managed. Any idea of profit had been disclaimed, but in point of fact, men were all influenced, as Mr. Johnston had said of the Pasha of Egypt, by selfish considerations: profit therefore, must be considered as the only permanent motive to carry into execution and conduct, the proposed plan; those who first started it, might indeed be actuated by higher and more disinterested views, but those who carried it on, must inevitably look to this result of their labors, or no reasonable hope could be entertained, with reference to a known law of human nature, that they would be cheerfully performed, or lead to a successful issue. Now he did think that a Committee in this country were most unlikely so to conduct the scheme, as to render it profitable, for reasons that had been stated, and which must, he thought, be almost obvious to all he addressed. He was decidedly of opinion, therefore, that the offer of a premium to any individual, here or at home, to carry the scheme into effect, was the most likely to effect the end proposed in the best, speediest, and the least expensive manner. By the offer of a premium, the undertaking was thrown open



to the whole Capital and ingenuity of India and Great Britain ; whereas, by the appointment of a Committee here, the management of the business must be left to an Agent in England, a failure in the choice of whom, might cause the whole scheme to end in loss and disappointment. By the offer of a premium, we threw the undertaking of the plan open to the competition of the men of genius of England ; and, if they did not succeed, he was indeed at a loss where to look for success. Another reason against the appointment of a Committee here, was, that we wanted data to establish the amount of Capital actually required. He (Mr. Mackenzie) had reason to believe that the expenses of building a Steam Vessel of 400 tons, would amount to upwards of £14,000. It is true that this was the estimated price, but it was well known that estimates are apt to be very fallacious. Mr. Mackillop, he believed, could speak from experience on this point, in reference to the Steam Vessel here (*a laugh.*) The estimate of the expense of building that vessel, furnished too by a most intelligent and skilful individual, was 15,000 rupees, and she had eventually cost, he understood, 32,000 rupees. It is evident, therefore, that estimates may be most deceptive and erroneous. But, if that furnished in his case be correct, the premium offered would secure us the supply of a vessel here within twelve months from this date. The next question was, could we raise £10,000? It was assumed that the scheme would prove advantageous to the comforts of all, and profitable to many. Speaking for himself, he could say that he should willingly aid in promoting the increase of these comforts. To the mercantile body, the plan offered more weighty advantages than to others, inasmuch as speediness of intelligence was of more importance to them, than to any other class of Society. It could not therefore be doubted that the Indian Community would subscribe to obtain these advantages. Captain Johnston, it was plain, acted on the supposition that we were to sit down quietly with a prospect of losing two lacs of rupees, to attain an object that might be effected without any such risk. He had no doubt that the Community would willingly contribute two lacs, to promote the communication it was proposed to establish ; but if they gave *two* in that way, he was confident they would much more readily give *one*, as a premium in the way he had suggested.

Mr. Paton enquired whether the Government would not patronize the undertaking.

Mr. H. Mackenzie replied, that he was not there on the part of the Government, but simply as an individual addressing his fellow-citizens at a meeting of other individuals like himself. If he were, however, to express his opinion as to the disposition of the Government towards this undertaking, he should have no hesitation in expressing his conviction, that they would liberally support it (*applause.*) He would suggest, as an improvement to Mr. Larkins' motion, that instead of offering the premium to individuals, it should run thus : that a premium shall be offered to the first Company that shall establish a communication between India and Great Britain by means of Steam Navigation.

The following Resolution were then moved by Mr. Larkins, seconded by Mr. Mackenzie, and unanimously adopted.—(*Vide Gazette of this Morning.*)

After Lieutenant Johnston had returned thanks for the honor done him, and expressed his assurance that his exertions should never be wanting to forward the object of the Meeting, or to promote the welfare and happiness of this Community, Mr. H. Mackenzie rose and proposed the thanks of the Meeting to the Chairman for the able manner in which he had conducted the business of the day. The motion was unanimously carried ; several gentlemen rose at once to second it.

It now remains to give an account of the proceedings of the Committee. Their earnestness is amply demonstrated by the fact that at their meeting of 10th November no less than Rs. 30,000 were subscribed to the object in view.

*Proceedings of the Committee appointed to carry into effect the Resolution passed at a Public Meeting, held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 5th November 1823.*

At a Meeting of the Committee, on Monday, the 10th November 1823.

*Present :*

Mr. Harington, *Chairman.*

Mr. Larkins.

Mr. Mackenzie.

Mr. Pattle.

Mr. Lushington.

Mr. Shakespear.

Captain Bruce.

Lieut. Johnston, R.N.

Captain Forbes.

Captain Jackson.

Mr. Muston.

Dr. Hare.

Mr. Grant.

Mr. Mackillop.

Mr. Clark.

Mr. Hunter.

Mr. Hobhouse.

Mr. Gordon.

Mr. Blaney.

The Committee having taken into consideration the Rules and Restrictions which appear to be advisable, for regulating the grant of the Premium or Bonus, referred to in the Resolution passed at the Public Meeting held on the 5th instant, *viz.*, "that it is desirable to encourage the establishment of a communication between England and India by Steam Navigation, by the offer of a Premium, or Bonus, to those who may first establish it on a permanent footing," and keeping in view the object of the intended Premium, with the expediency of rendering the conditions of it at once simple and specific; agree to adopt the following Rules, subject, of course, to the approval and confirmation of the General Meeting appointed to be held on the 17th day of December next :—

*1st.*—That the proposed Bonus, or Premium, be offered for the establishment of a communication between England and Bengal by Steam Packets navigating by either of the two routes, of the Red Sea, or the Cape of Good Hope.

*2nd.*—That the amount received, under a subscription to be opened for this purpose (deducting therefrom any disbursements authorized by a General Meeting, or Committee of the Subscribers) be assigned as a Premium to any Individuals, or Company, being British Subjects, who may first establish a communication by Steam Vessels between England and Bengal, by either of the routes abovementioned, before the expiration of the year 1826.

*3rd.*—That the communication, required for the Premium above stated, shall be considered to have been established on the completion of two Voyages from England to Bengal by the Vessel or Vessels of any Individual or Company, being British Subjects, within a period not exceeding an average of seventy days for each of the four Voyages; provided, further, that such Vessel or Vessels be not of a less burthen than three hundred tons.

*4th.*—That, if the full Premium be not earned by any Individuals or Company, under the foregoing Rules, by the completion of two Voyages out and two home, as required, within the limited period; but one Voyage from England to Bengal, and one from Bengal to England, shall have been performed in conformity with the preceding Rules before the expiration of

the year 1826, a moiety with the stated Premium shall be assigned to the Individuals or Company, being British Subjects, by whose Vessel or Vessels, such two Voyages, out and home shall have been so performed.

*5th.*—That the amount subscribed for the purposes above stated (with an exception to authorized disbursements, as provided for in the second Rule), be lodged as received, or as soon afterwards as may be convenient, in the hands of the Government Agents, to be invested in Public Securities of the Remittable Loan; the accruing interest upon which, until the Principal be called for, to be invested in the same manner, and the aggregate to be assignable as above, in whole, or in part, to the persons who may be entitled to the full Premium, or a moiety of it.

*6th.*—That all claims to the Premium receivable under the foregoing Rules, or to any part thereof, be finally determined by a Committee of Managers, to be elected at the General Meeting of the subscribers to be held on the 17th December next; and in the event of any part of the amount subscribed remaining unappropriated in the hands of the Government Agents, at the expiration of the year 1826, and of no persons being entitled to receive the same, that the balance so remaining be returned to the Subscribers or their representatives, in proportion to their respective Subscriptions; unless otherwise disposed of by the unanimous vote of a General Meeting of Subscribers.

The Committee, having thus performed such part of the duty entrusted to them by the Public Meeting of the 5th instant, as required them to consider and prepare the rules and restrictions under which the proposed Premium should be granted; proceed to carry into effect the further object of their appointment, *viz.*, "to obtain Subscriptions," and with that view, pass the following Resolutions:—

*1st.*—That a Subscription be opened for the purposes stated in the Resolution passed at the Public Meeting held on the 5th instant, and in the Rules above specified for carrying the same into effect, or such as may be finally adopted at the General Meeting of Subscribers to be held on the 17th December next; and that the Bank of Bengal, and the several Agency Houses in Calcutta, be requested to open Subscription Books, as well as to receive any Subscription that may be tendered to them respectively; the amount to be hereafter paid into the hands of the Government Agents.

*2nd.*—That the principal Civil and Military Officers at the several stations in the interior of the Country subject to this Presidency, be also invited by the Chairman to open Books of Subscription; and to remit any sum that may be received by them, with a list of the Subscribers, to the Bank of Bengal, or to any of the Calcutta houses of Agency.

*3rd.*—That for the purpose of communicating the proceedings of the Public Meeting held on the 5th instant, and those of the Committee of the present date, to the Civil and Military Officers who may be addressed by the Chairman, in pursuance of the above Resolution, as well as for the distribution of copies of those proceedings by the Members of the Committee, five hundred copies be printed, with any additional number that the Chairman may find requisite.

*4th.*—That the Bank of Bengal be authorized and requested to answer any Draft from the Chairman for expenses incurred in the execution of these Resolutions.

*5th.*—That copies of the proceedings of the Public Meeting held at the Town Hall on the 5th instant, and of the proceedings of the Committee on the present date, be submitted by the Chairman, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, and that he be solicited to instruct the Post-Master-General to pass, free of postage, any letters on the subject of those proceedings, which may be so certified by the Superscription of the Chairman.

6th.—That the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council be at the same time respectfully requested, in the name of the Committee, to confer the patronage of Government upon the plan adopted for encouraging the establishment of a communication between England and India by Steam Navigation; and to favour it with such pecuniary support, as His Lordship in Council may deem proper, on consideration of the public benefits, in addition to those of a private nature, which may be reasonably expected from its success.

J. H. HARRINGTON,  
Chairman.

Pending the next meeting of the Committee, we hear something more of the fortunes of the *Diana*.

Monday, December 22nd, 1823. THE STEAM BOAT.—The Steam Boat *Diana*, Captain Anderson, left town on Saturday morning at 7 o'clock, for Saugor, having on board several of the passengers per the Hon'ble Company's ship *Princess Charlotte of Wales*. She was expected to be back at her moorings by three o'clock yesterday morning. We have not heard if she has accomplished it.

She left the same place on Thursday morning with General Hardwick on board, about the same hour, but, being detained in Garden Reach till a quarter before nine, to receive other passengers, she did not reach Saugor till seven o'clock in the evening. She had by this detention lost two hours of the ebb, yet, with the additional drawback of a Cutter, heavily laden with luggage, towing astern, she only took ten hours to Saugor against one whole flood.

On this occasion every individual on board was perfectly delighted with the celerity and elegant accommodations of the *Diana*, and one unanimous feeling prevailed both as to the Vessel and her Commander. She is admirably suited to the climate, and very neatly fitted up with every requisite convenience.

The sitting cabin on deck is thirty-three feet long, and is venetianed throughout, the windows being of a very large size. The accommodation below is divided into two cabins; both of them are more especially intended for Ladies. We understand that Captain Anderson is no less a favourite than his Vessel. Every individual has reason to be gratified by his kind and attentive conduct. He is thoroughly acquainted with the intricacies of the river, and indefatigable in attention of his duties. Captain Chesney, late Aide-de-Camp to General Hardwick, accompanied him to the *Thomas Grenville*, and had a most narrow escape for his life. The passengers were removed from the *Diana* in the *Grenville's* boat, which being rather crowded, Captain Chesney sat in the stern sheets. There was a bight of the rope in the stern sheets, both ends of which were fast to the Steam Boat. Being night, it was not noticed, and when the boat cast off, the bight of the rope drew him into the river. With a presence of mind to which he owes his life, he seized the rope, and held on astern of the Steam Boat. The ebb was running so strong, that no assistance could be obtained from *Grenville's* boat, but he managed to haul himself up alongside the Steam Vessel, where a boat picked him up.

The *Diana*, on her return to Town, left Diamond Harbour with the flood, at a quarter past nine on Friday morning, and arrived off the Fort at half past one—a distance of 59 miles in four and a quarter hours, passing over the ground at an average rate of 14 miles per hour.

We understand she is engaged on the 25th to take Mrs. W. B. Bayley to the *William Miles*, on which ship she is proceeding to England;

and it will be seen under the list of passengers by the *Woodford*, that she takes down that ship's passengers on the 27th.

[*John Bull of this morning.*]

THE Committee met again on 17th December, here is the account of their Proceedings.

Mr. Harington, Chairman of the Committee, elected at the Public Meeting of the 5th ultimo, having been requested to take the chair, after briefly stating the objects of the present Meeting as held in pursuance of the adjournment agreed to at the Public Meeting abovementioned, proceeded to read the following report on the part of the Committee then appointed :—

“The Committee appointed at the Public Meeting held on the 5th November, 1823, for carrying into effect the resolution passed on that date, with a view to encourage the establishment of a communication between Great Britain and India by Steam Navigation, have now the pleasure of reporting their proceedings for the information of the Subscribers to the proposed bonus, or premium ; and at the same time submit a copy of their correspondence with the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

“It will appear from this correspondence that the apprehensions of hazard attending an attempt to navigate Steam Vessels between Great Britain and India, which, from the want of sufficient explanation on the part of the Committee, were entertained by Government in the first instance, have been entirely removed by the Committee's letter of the 26th ultimo, and that Mr Secretary Lushington's letter in reply, dated the 4th instant, expresses ‘the cordial disposition of his Lordship in Council to promote an enterprise promising so much benefit to the State, and to the community ;’ with his Lordship's consequent resolution, ‘to place at the disposal of the Committee the sum of twenty thousand rupees as a contribution towards its attainment’

“The conditions attached to this liberal grant, and specified in the letter abovementioned, met the ready concurrence of the Committee, as stated in their Chairman's answer of the 10th instant, and the modifications therein proposed of the Rules contained in the Committee's Proceedings of the 10th November, for regulating the grant of a premium to those who may first establish, on a permanent footing, a communication between Great Britain and India, by steam navigation, having been considered by the Governor-General in Council (as intimated in the concluding letter from Mr. Secretary Lushington) ‘perfectly satisfactory,’ the rules so modified are now submitted for the final consideration, and adoption, if approved, of a General Meeting of Subscribers.”

The correspondence referred to in the above report was then read, as well as the proceedings of the Committee, after which the several rules proposed by the Committee, for regulating the grant of a premium, or bonus, to those who may first establish a permanent communication between Great Britain and Bengal by steam navigation, were unanimously adopted with a few verbal amendments in the following terms :—

*First.*—That the proposed bonus, or premium, be offered for the establishment of a permanent communication between Great Britain and Bengal, by Steam Packets navigating by either of the routes of the Red Sea, or the Cape of Good Hope.

*Second.*—That the amount received under the subscription opened for this purpose (deducting, therefrom, any disbursements authorized by a General Meeting or Committee of the Subscribers), or if the net receipts from the subscription shall exceed the sum of one lac of Sicca Rupees, so much thereof as shall amount to that sum, be assigned as a premium to

any individuals or Company, being British subjects, who may first establish a communication by Steam Vessels between Great Britain and Bengal, by either of the routes abovementioned before the expiration of the year 1826.

*Third*.—That the communication required for the premium above stated, shall be considered to have been established on the completion of two voyages or passages from Great Britain to Bengal, and two voyages from Bengal to Great Britain, by the Vessel or Vessels of any individuals or Company, being British subjects, within a period not exceeding an average of seventy days for each of the four voyages. Provided, further, that such Vessel or Vessels be not of a less burthen than three hundred tons, or three hundred and fifty tons, whilst the Act of Parliament, which requires that burthen for British ships proceeding to India, shall remain in force.

*Fourth*.—That if the full premium be not earned by any individuals or Company, under the foregoing Rules, by the completion of two voyages or passages out, and two homeward, as required within the limited period; but one voyage from Great Britain to Bengal, and one from Bengal to Great Britain shall have been performed, in conformity with the preceding rules, before the expiration of the year 1826, a moiety of the stated premium shall be assigned to the individuals or Company, being British subjects, by whose Vessel or Vessels such two voyages out and home shall have been so performed.

*Fifth*.—That the amount subscribed for the purposes above stated (with an exception to authorized disbursements as provided for in the Second Rule), be lodged as received, or as soon afterwards as may be convenient, in the hands of the Government Agent, to be invested in public securities of the Remittable Loan, the accruing interest upon which, until the principal be called for, to be invested in the same manner, and the aggregate, provided it shall not exceed the sum of one lac of Sicca Rupees, the stated limitation of the premium, to be assignable as above, in whole or in part, to the persons who may be entitled to the full premium, or a moiety of it.

*Sixth*.—That all claims to the premium receivable under the foregoing rules or to any part thereof, be finally determined by the Committee of Managers, to be elected at the present General Meeting of Subscribers, and in the event of any part of the amount subscribed remaining unappropriated in the hands of the Government Agents at the expiration of the year 1826, and of no persons being entitled to receive the same, that the balance so remaining be at the disposal of a General Meeting of the Subscribers, for any purpose connected with the object of promoting a permanent communication by Steam Vessels between Great Britain and Bengal, either by a partial reimbursement of expenses incurred in a meritorious though unsuccessful attempt to establish Steam Packets as proposed, or by any other application of the unappropriated fund in hand to the purpose above stated, which may appear just and proper. If any balance remain, which may not be so applied, it shall be returned to the Subscribers or their representatives in proportion to their respective subscriptions.

The Meeting next proceeded to the election of a Committee of Managers, in the pursuance of the last rule above stated, and it being understood that the Chairman of the late Committee, as well as several Members of it, on account of their public or other engagements wish to decline being re-elected to the permanent Committee of Management, it was resolved that this Committee consist of thirteen Members, and five of whom to form a Quorum, with a discretion to fill up vacancies in the event of any of the Members quitting the Presidency, and to call a General Meeting of the Subscribers when required.

It was further resolved, the Committee of Managers to be now elected shall possess full powers to carry into effect the whole of the Rules and

Regulations passed at this Meeting, as well as to complete the subscriptions for the proposed bonus, or premium, which has been opened by the Committee appointed on the 5th ultimo, and to adopt such measures as may appear proper, for extending the same to the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, and to the Island of Ceylon.

The following Gentlemen were then elected to constitute a Committee of Managers for the purposes above stated:—

J. P. Larkins, Esq.	Captain Forbes, of the Eng.
Holt Mackenzie, Esq.	J. Palmer, Esq.
J. Pattle, Esq.	G. Mackillop, Esq.
C. Lushington, Esq.	D. Clark, Esq.
Commodore Hayes.	J. Gordon, Esq.
Captain Bruce, of the Bombay Marine.	A. Colvin, Esq.
	C. Sutherland, Esq.

The Chairman laid before the Meeting a book of subscription, to the Steam Navigation Fund, by which it appeared, that, including the donation of twenty thousand Rupees from the Right Hon'able the Governor General in Council, the amount ascertained to have been subscribed exceeds the sum of sixty-two thousand rupees. The Chairman at the same time informed the Meeting that in compliance with the resolutions of the late Committee he has transmitted copies of their Proceedings, with an address from himself, to the principal Civil and Military officers at the several stations in the interior of the country subject to this Presidency, and that he has yet received returns from Moorshedabad and Lucknow only. The subscriptions at the latter place amount to Lucknow Sicca Rupees Three Thousand Four Hundred and Fifty, of which Two Thousand had been contributed by His Majesty the King of Oude, and Five Hundred by his Prime Minister, the Nabob Moatummud-oo-Dowlah.

On the motion of Mr. McClintock, seconded by Captain Hodgson, it was resolved that the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Chairman and Members of the Committee appointed on the 5th ultimo, for their able and satisfactory discharge of the trust committed to them.

Also that the best acknowledgments of the Meeting and all persons interested in the establishment of a communication by Steam Vessels between Great Britain and India, are due to Lieutenant James Henry Johnston, of the Royal Navy, for his active and zealous exertions in promoting that object.

Lieutenant Johnston, in a short address to the Meeting, expressed his sense of the honor conferred upon him by this public acknowledgment, with his cordial wishes for the successful accomplishment of an object which engaged his attention in England, and which he had the satisfaction of having forwarded in India.

The proceedings of the Meeting were then closed with the usual vote of thanks to the Chairman.

So ended the year 1823. It had sped Johnston on his way homeward to bring out to India the first steamship which ever crossed the Indian Ocean—the *Enterprise*. In the following year, the *Diana* was purchased by the Government at the cost of Rs. 80,000, and utilised in the Burma expedition.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER,  
M.A., F.R.G.S.

## Art. VIII.—FOURTEEN DAYS IN THE HIMALAYAS.

SOME photographs in the *Graphic* a week or two ago of Darjeeling, remind me of a very delightful tour made in the Himalaya mountains, by a party of four friends, one of whom was the present writer. Fresh out from home with very hazy ideas of India, its beauties and delights, the grandeur of the scenery was altogether so surprising, that a description of it may be of interest to others.

With the usual small mindedness of the untravelled, one was impressed with the idea that having seen English, Scotch, and Swiss mountain scenery, it was time to die, there was nothing left to be seen, whereas while it may seem disloyal to say so, all the grandeur of these three combined, did not equal the unrivalled grandeur of the Himalayas; unfortunately closed to the many, because of distance and difficulties. The very interesting region of these mountains, "The earth's girdle," which was selected for our tour, is accessible only from Darjeeling, the Eastern Sanitarium of Bengal.

The journey from the plains to Darjeeling is alone worthy of description, and is now a pleasing contrast to that which the same journey was some thirty years ago. Then, starting from Calcutta the modes of transit were very varied. Firstly, the traveller had eleven hours by rail, then four hours by steam boat on the Bramaputra. Next 124 miles drive in a gharry, compared with which the meanest London cab is luxurious; then followed 14 miles which only could be ridden or undertaken in a dandy (a wheel-less boat-shaped vehicle carried shoulder high by four men) and even this only brought the traveller to the base of the mountains, there still remained that wonderful ascent of 7,000 feet and this also formerly could only be accomplished on pony back or dandy.

Now railway lines are most cleverly laid, winding at times round and round the mountain side, now shunting backwards and forwards and ascending to still greater heights, now passing through cuttings in the mountains and describing a circle to regain the former line of ascent.



The scenery is magnificent, with lovely trees, ferns and a luxuriance of creepers on all sides. The little train, as it slowly winds upwards gives the traveller ample time for inspection, and even to pick the blossoms as it passes ; at times too, when it can but progress very slowly, so great is the ascent, one can alight in the most friendly and trustworthy manner, walk awhile, exchange civilities and then return to one's place, defying the brave little engine to outrun them. The climate too is all variety : one leaves the plains in coolest hot weather attire, but in eight hours' time is glad of the warmest clothing, such as an English December requires. These are gradually assumed, until *sola topee* and all hot weather adjuncts are discarded. Then this bracing atmosphere fills one with energy and exuberant spirits which defy fatigue, and this alone makes a visit to Darjeeling delightful.

The railway station presented a very lively appearance on arrival. The healthy rosy faces of the Europeans are a pleasing contrast to those of their pallid friends from the plains whom they come to meet, and again and of great importance are the companies of coolie women, with their Babel of tongues, but all merry and good natured, waiting to carry the baggage of the new-comers, and this they do most manfully, hoisting huge boxes on their shoulders, which a London porter would want both mate and trolly to remove and even thus heavily weighted, these women simply run up the steeps.

Darjeeling is beautifully situated on the mountain side ; its white bungalows all studded about are a very noticeable feature with their pretty background of greenery.

The rarified effect of the air is very speedily felt ; it makes one gasp for breath and glad, until acclimatized and accustomed to it, to take life very easily.

I think I can best describe our expedition by simply extracting from my diary all there is of general interest. I will not attempt to write grandly, but rather and as nearly as possible as I was then inspired by the magnificence and grandeur of the scenery, and as place and time allowed, sometimes on pony, back, sometimes while resting after tiffin and sometimes during the night hours, when overpowered by all the excitement

of the day, "Nature's Sweet Nurse" refused to do her work, so book and pencil always at hand, I seized them when I could.

The route arranged for our tour by the leaders of the party was from Darjeeling to Phalut *via* Ghoom, and returning *via* Dentam to Darjeeling, this, a distance of over 100 miles, we accomplished in fourteen days, ample time one would suppose, until acquainted with the paths, the difficulties and the dangers through which we passed. On a lovely morning in November we started from Darjeeling. A goodly company, with our attendants numbering over 60, we presented a lively scene as we assembled in front of the Woodlands, Hotel. These attendants consisted of coolies to carry baggage, eight syces, for our eight ponies, gram (fodder) carriers and servants, four policemen, two kitmaghars, one or two cooks, and two sirdars (caretakers). The weather was perfect, bright with sunshine, but cold and bracing like an October day in England.

The view of Darjeeling was very lovely as we ascended (riding) the lofty mountains behind the station. Passed the rugged heights, many handsome houses, a church, and the barracks, we soon found ourselves in wild country and ascending rapidly. The pathway was good, and gladly we availed ourselves of it for a canter which we soon knew would be an impossible attainment. Soon too we found ourselves enveloped in clouds, cold and saturating, and covering us all over with soft snow-like fluff. Here we met in detachments a riding party from Darjeeling, who had literally lost themselves in the clouds and were wildly shouting for each other, fearful lest accidents had happened to any in the deceptive lights. Two miles distant, and we reached Ghoom, a very dirty little village with funny little open shops and all sorts of ware, cloth, jewelry, native cooking utensils and confections, fowls and fruit. Through the midst of Ghoom, the railway passes to and from Darjeeling.

Leaving Ghoom behind, we passed through lovely wooded roads and deep ravines, trees rising from their misty depths as if out of still lake-like water.

At midday, having accomplished the half of our day's march, we rested for tiffin at a little wayside hut, where the servants who had preceded us, had all ready. Cold and wet

we were glad of the shelter which the hut afforded, and there seated in the dandy or on its poles, a fourth on a biscuit box, we did ample justice to the good things provided for us, all brought with a liberal hand and in unstinted measure from Calcutta. The weather continued cold and misty, still the ride was invigorating, and all of us so delightfully happy that deluges of rain would scarcely have depressed us.

At 4-30 P.M. we reached Jorepukri, our destination for the day, situated on the Nepaul frontier, 7,400 feet above sea level and 13 miles from Darjeeling. There we found a tiny white bungalow of three rooms, roaring wood fires in each and tea ready, all prepared by the second detachment of servants sent on ahead. The coolies outside and all around were merrily preparing their own evening repasts over their own little wood fires.

The rarified air first felt in Darjeeling is here very noticeable, and more especially at night. At dawn of day we were all astir, all eagerness to see the sun rise on the beautiful snow-clad mountains. Oh! how magnificent it was, and yet still grander exhibitions were to follow. The cold was intense, icicles were hanging from the bungalow eaves, and even the bath-water inside was frozen. Very warm clothing was now necessary, and, being warned that bad pathways would necessitate much walking on foot, we equipped ourselves accordingly.

Tonglu, our fixed day's march, was 10 miles distant. The paths were indeed bad—narrow, rough, and rugged. From the heights of Jorepokri we first descended to a lovely wooded valley, where we rested for tiffin in an almost tropical climate to ascend to the still greater elevation of Tonglu 10,074 feet above sea level and 3,000 feet higher than Jorepukri.

We arrived in time to see the setting sun brilliantly illuminating the lovely snows of Mount Everest, the highest mountain in the world, rising 29,000 feet above sea level. Situated in Nepaul, it is unfortunately out of the reach of travellers, because Nepaul excludes such from her territories. Thus 500 miles is closed to explorers. Bhutan to the east is also inaccessible, another stretch of 500 miles. It is therefore only through Sikim that one can reach at all to the Eastern Himalaya mountains, hence, in passing the border of

Nepaul and Bhutan the head of the police by whom we were attended and the passports by which we were supplied by the Government of India.

The view of the mountains at sunrise baffles description. No longer clad as it were in their mantle of pure white they seemed ablaze in loveliest shades of rose pink, crimson and gold, while beneath were the clouds, fleecy and white as snow covering the lesser heights and plains. No life about—save our own party—and yet there was no feeling of loneliness. Never again probably should we behold this heaven-born grandeur and yet there it would be day by day, lighting up these almost untrodden paths with its magnificence until that great day, when all should pass away.

Our march from Tonglu to Sandakphu, our next resting place, was fifteen miles, but was quite equal to double the distance owing to the bad roads. Many parts almost perpendicular, and at the best the ascent was calculated at 1 foot in 16 inches. Riding was for the most part impossible, for surefooted though our ponies were we could not try their capabilities too far.

The chief points of interest after leaving Tonglu were the religious arrangements of the Buddhists.

Poles measuring some 12 to 20 feet placed upright in the ground, to which were attached long flag-like cloths, and on these were written their prayers in Sanskrit,—their creed being that these, therefore, were continually being offered up, so unwittingly they fulfilled scripture precept. Next we came upon a long tomb-like structure of stone also covered over with prayers in Sanskrit beautifully carved, and used by the Buddhists as a place of prayer. Three miles further on and we reached Nepaul frontier, the boundary line of which was marked by white stone pillars. Here boldly defying regulations we rested in Nepaul territory for tiffin. On one side were vast grass over-grown gorges, which, being void of trees, showed up their exceeding depths. The heat was intense and there being no shelter whatever from it, we were glad quickly to continue our march.

For several miles the narrow pathway was bounded on either side by *khuds*, the depth of which we could not define.

One dared not look down. The effect was dizzying, and after a time one was obliged to seek relief and rest from the strain of the position, and allow the syce to lead the pony and proceed with eyes closed to the dangers of the situation. So narrow was the pathway, that this leading could only be attained by the syce going in front of the pony and attaching himself by means of a strap. This bridle path was so rough and steep that only the knowledge that girths and straps were doubly secure made riding safe. One dared not look backwards but only upwards, and the view of snow-clad mountains was magnificent and had the pleasing effect of encouragement. The shelter of a bamboo thicket on one side was very delightful after these somewhat weary miles of ascent and danger—how great the ascent we were unable to calculate, save by the rapidly-increasing cold. We were literally up in the clouds and covered all over with their soft, snow-like fluff, while the sky seemed as if beneath us, a blue wall on either side. The cold was intense we were glad to press our numbed fingers under our saddles for warmth and even the men sheltered their faces in wool comforters.

The vast mountains are indescribable—here covered with trees and there bare save for some cereal cultivation and again rock bound and covered with mica white and glittering like diamonds. A very exhausting day's march made all the more enjoyable the comforts which awaited us at the Sandakphu little rest house. Sandakphu is 11,929 feet above sea level and was the highest point in our journey, and is 1,800 feet higher than Tonglu, our last dāk, hence the intense cold from which we suffered. As a rule the rarified air seemed to have the effect of nourishing us. We seldom felt hungry in spite of so much exertion, but on this occasion it must have been less effectual, because I find in my diary the dinner *menu*, which proves the repast had met with special attention and which I give in order to show that although so far outside the pale of civilisation we still fared sumptuously. Julianne soup, salmon mayonnaise, stewed duck, green peas, roast mutton, sardine toast, peaches and ramey samey pudding, with the usual digestive accompaniments. The Sandakphu Bungalow was more comfortable than any of its

predecessors and yet the home friends would be surprised at the accommodation which we both enjoyed and were glad of. It was a white washed thatched structure, about 30 feet long, divided into three rooms, all far from air-tight, and with doors which closed only after much persuasion and thus were obliged to be blocked up, bare stone floors, in one corner of each a wood fire burned, the smoke passing through an aperture in the roof, and a tiny window which scarcely admitted the light of day. The furniture in each room consisted of a camp table, a camp bed, broken or otherwise, a glass which did not tend to increase one's vanity, sometimes a chair, a basin, if not a jug, supported by some means, prompted by the mother of invention. Then the centre or messing room was in keeping, a small table, two or three chairs, by no means easy ones, and a few dining necessities. However the want of better things did not hinder enjoyment or mar pleasure.

We had the grandest view of the snows at Sandakphu, which is surrounded on three sides by mountains. At sunset the reflection was one blaze of brilliancy, and adding to the beauty of the scene was the effect of the snowy white clouds which lay far beneath and the sky above of clearest azure blue and perfectly cloudless, contrasted magnificently with the dense whiteness around.

On leaving Sandakphu, it seemed as if in a second of time that the grand view had entirely disappeared, and we found ourselves instead in a forest of dead trees. The cause of this inanimation we were at a loss to find cause for either from observation or by inquiry. The effect was most depressing, but fortunately was of short duration, scarcely exceeding a mile, and then we emerged from it into bright sunshine and a lovely expansive plain of green sward which led again into forest land, but this time of lovely Scotch firs, all redolent and green. The scenery between Sandakphu and Phalut was the grandest we had yet seen. Vast gorges on either side of the narrow pathway were thickly overgrown with trees of every variety. The fern tree and the oak being conspicuously prominent. Riding was impossible, only walking single file was safe. These gorges on either side of the pathway were almost perpendicular, and as the trees

had been all cut away within reach of the pathway there was no protection, had accident occurred. The ponies too had become very restive, several little mishaps had occurred to warn us that "discretion was the better part of valour." We had learned from the caretaker at Sandakphu, that many accidents had taken place on these gorges. A lady and gentleman, he told us, had chosen these wilds for their honeymoon and paused to sketch the pretty scenes about; the lady remained seated on horse back, suddenly a bird arose from the thicket and startled the pony, a rear, a plunge and all was over, rider, pony, and syce who had been at the pony's head were all precipitated to the depth below. One of a party of lady missionaries met with a similarly tragic end. They had rested for tiffin, each holding her own pony and sitting on the pathway a butterfly flitted past and startled the pony. The rider was unable to disentangle her arm from the reins. The pony plunged forward. The sight was a terrible one for the moment, the girl seemed poised in mid air and then altogether disappeared.

After 13 miles, chiefly of ascent, we reached Phalut 11,811 feet above sea level and from Phalut our return journey began. The cold was intense doubtless because we had reached the nearest point to the snows, which were only about 40 miles distant but looked much less.

The view of the mountain enveloped in snow was magnificent. At dawn of day the lower mountains were lost in clouds, so the appearance was one vast undulating mass of whiteness. We waited to see the sun rise, the grandeur of the effect was one never to be forgotten, beautiful prismatic colouring taking the place of this dense whiteness, the effect on the naked eye so dazzling that we found the benefit of the preservers with which we had come provided. As an extra and much-needed protection from the intense cold at Phalut the little rest-house had a double enclosure all round of rough glass through which we enjoyed watching our coolies at work outside. Such happy people these Bhutias are, and so generous and kind to each other. Very strong is the bond of caste and brotherhood. Give to one sweets, cake or tobacco, and they would half and quarter again and again until all were given away. Beyond the coolies

were our syces, all busy making ready the ponies, a lovely scene indeed, soon to be changed to absolute quiet, for our next march being a very difficult one, we had to make an earlier start than usual. The weather was perfect. Warm sunshine counteracted the intense cold and brightly illuminated the lovely snowy mountains.

The very rugged pathway needed our best attention ; it was quite the worst we had traversed, so bad indeed that travellers seldom venture beyond Phalut, but rather return to Darjeeling by the same route they came. We were obliged to dismount and walk on our own flat feet. The pathway, if such it could be called, being nearly perpendicular, ice bound where sheltered from the sun, and wet and slippery where exposed. We could see the corresponding heights to which we hoped to ascend, vast ravines and gorges divided them, so awful to behold from the heights, so tranquil and lovely when reached and the tropical climate there a contrast indeed to the piercing cold of Phalut.

Little attention could be devoted to the scenery. One's whole attention was necessarily devoted to the pathway, always narrow with deep, apparently bottomless space on one side, sometimes on both. Breath-bound almost and in silence we ascended and descended, knowing that one false step, one stumble and recovery was hopeless. One part of this great ascent was embedded with mica pilatz, the brilliant, diamond-like sparkle of which was quite dazzling. This mica, however beautiful in effect, has a detrimental effect upon the water in its vicinity and drinking such is highly injurious. Many of our coolies, who persisted in slaking their thirst tempted by its beautifully clear appearance in spite of warning, were in consequence seriously ill. The march arranged for the day from Phalut to Chiaban Yan, although only  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles, was a whole day's work, the first mile alone taking one hour and twenty minutes to cover, and at this rate we travelled the greater part of the day. There was no pathway, only a rough, ragged ascent and supported by alpenstocks and holding on to rocks, roots, or grass, we needed "tough hearts for this very stey brae." The ponies were led, and we trembled for their safety so perilous was the route we were



obliged to take. We rested in a lovely glade for tiffin, under the shelter of huge rocks, all bespecked with marble and overgrown with moss and ferns. The view below was of vast undulating plains and above mountains—nothing but mountains. All around was beauty, plants strange, and familiar, bright red berried shrubs, and loveliest masses of ferns growing luxuriously. The sky above was brightly blue and perfectly cloudless, and the utter silence and loneliness of the place only increased its grandeur. After an all too brief rest we started again on foot, stumbling as we went over the boulders of which the pathway was composed. On the left all was rocks—mountains high—on the right, miles of forest-covered mountain. A sudden bend in the pathway and all was changed, mountains and rocks alike disappearing and we had a few hundred yards of plain, beautiful flowering shrubs growing luxuriously, their beauty almost born to blush unseen. The air was so exhilarating, one felt buoyed up with elasticity and happiness and the weather was glorious, less cold because the pathway was more sheltered, but oh! so rough, and yet with cat-like agility, the ponies climbed the heights, seldom making mistakes.

The scenery around varied with panoramic fleetness. We next found ourselves in a long grassy ravine, studded closely with the dead stumps of trees, all overgrown with moss and lying in picturesque disorder and then we passed through rhododendron woods, many of the trees over 6 feet in height and here again the lovely fern trees abounded, many 7 or 8 feet high, their huge bracken branches reaching to the ground and swaying gracefully with the breeze. At every bend fresh beauties awaited us. Sometimes a little bit of fir forest reminding one of the Highlands of Scotland, when the autumn tints are in their full glory. Sometimes a pretty water scene, only variety always. After a very stiff ascent the lovely snows appeared again sending us a most welcome and refreshing breeze. The air, so invigorating, alone filled one with gladness, dispelling all thoughts of fatigue and so on we went, sometimes ankle deep in mud, sometimes stumbling over boulders, yet always gaily. We did not reach Chiaban Yan until sunset, thus proving the severity of the march, for except for tiffin we never rested all day.

At Chiaban Yan a very merry scene awaited us. A little white-washed bungalow, all rainbow tinted with the setting sun, a background of snowy mountains, and in front the coolies round their crackling wood fires busily preparing their evening meal and chattering merrily as though no weary roads had been traversed by them. Presently we were amused to see them *nautching* (dancing) the women only, in their own queer shuffling fashion, never raising foot from the ground and keeping excellent time to the weird monotonous singing of the men.

At nightfall the scene was still more picturesque. The coolies, in parties of three and four, lay sleeping or smoking round their wood fires, which were all studded about round the rest-house. A background of dark forest beyond and the brightest of moons shedding a glorious brilliancy over all. We were astir early in the morning, awakened by the rays of the rising sun streaming into our sleeping rooms.

The scenery surrounding Chiaban Yan (10,320 feet above sea level) is very varied. To the north there is the kindly shelter of great mountains, thickly overgrown with furze; on the west a deep ravine, rich with autumn tinted trees, and beyond all, the snow-covered mountains rising in rugged lines higher, and higher until their summits were lost in a blaze of sunshine. The atmosphere was less cold, although the frost was still fairly severe, hardening the ground and leaving a pretty lace-like tracing on the fallen leaves. This pathway, almost an untrodden one, was awful; we could only ascend single file on foot, and forming one great procession we zig-zagged the base of the mountain, thankful of the shade of lofty trees. A sudden bend in the pathway, and the scene was quite changed. A great red mountain rose in front, bounded on either side by huge bamboo thickets. Riding continued impossible, it was even necessary to remove the pommels from the ladies' saddles because of the projecting rocks on one side of the narrow pathway which skirted the red mountain and by which lay our route.

At Chiaban Yan we left the snows behind, and descending 6,000 feet, reached Dentam, 10 miles distant, and our next resting place.

Words seem powerless to describe the beauty of the scenery through which we passed. I can but state facts, and leave the

reality to the imagination of the reader, as also the sensations which such magnificence produced upon us. Vast mountains on the right, beautiful oaks forming with three branches a lovely arch over the pathway which their huge vein-like roots made very rough walking. On the left, one vast ravine, its depth unknown, clinging roots and mosses lining it, and overgrowing every tree, all so fresh and beautiful in the early morning. Presently we heard the sound of rushing waters, and a sudden bend in the pathway, and there was the reality in all its beauty—a sparkling brooklet merrily leaping down the mountain side, forming as it went lovely waterfalls over the huge moss-covered boulders. On it went madly dashing to the sea, where its lovely identity would be lost for ever.

On we went, still winding round the mountain side—loveliest scenery on all sides—wild rasps growing plenteously, ferns carpetting the ground way, the little friendly brooklet still rushing in the deep ravine. All day long it followed us, sometimes larger, sometimes smaller; sometimes black with depth, sometimes sparkling with silvery brightness, while it formed fairy waterfalls, which contrasted beautifully with the woodlands through which it danced. Fearing that worse roads were in front of us, we marched on as quickly as we could—sometimes riding, but for the most part walking. A very noteworthy feature was the lovely flowering shrubs by which the route was enclosed for a mile and more—pink, yellow and purple—their name unknown to us, their fragrance scenting the air. The almond tree also abounded and beautiful orchids but unfortunately so high, that the most agile of our servants could not reach them. There were also quantities of pink and white pampas grass which swayed with the breeze and glinted in the sunshine. For the first time too in our march, we heard singing birds, their tones, so brightly piercing, rending the air and echoing again. Suddenly the great mountains which bounded our path on one side ceased and an expansive grassgrown ravine took its place, as it were a wide stream rippling along at its deepest depths, and on the other side the little brook dividing itself into many streams, by rocks, bracken, trees and grass was a little brook no longer.

On the hills beyond lay a little Bhutia village looking so peaceful and snug, and for the first time on our march we saw people—a man, a boy, and a woman—and after a sudden turning quite a rural scene awaited us—natives, bullocks, goats, sheep, and children all lying about together outside and inside their huts. Men and cattle mixed—at work or at play—all merry and happy as if neither care nor sorrow entered there. “Low lies his head with the beasts of the stall,” little they knew how closely they followed the example of Him who hallowed the lowly stall. Humanity about, accounted for the cultivated state of the lands. Harvest past, the labourers seemed resting and preparing for another season.

Fearful lest darkness should overtake us, we hurried on ; our eyes at times almost wearied beholding so much beauty. Rivulets on all sides were a pleasing feature, waterfalls gushing down and across the pathway, so refreshingly cool during the midday heat. Bhutia huts lay here and there so picturesque-looking with their thatched walls and roofs. Many of these have two storeys, and I am able to give a practical description of one in which we were obliged to spend two nights. This was at Dentam, our next halting place, 10 miles from Chiaban Yan and 4,600 feet above sea-level. In the official notice this little residence was described as “a Bungalow, a converted Bhutia house.” We agreed that the conversion was far from complete, but the novelty of living in such had its charm. Let me try to describe it. Picture a wall seven feet high of stone cemented with mud, above this an entire wall of mud, huge beams of wood supporting it. Rough steps cut in the rock formed the approach to the entrance, which was where mud and stone walls joined, here rough beams formed the floor and beneath was empty space—only used as a shelter for cattle ; the wood floor was partitioned into three parts, or rooms, wide beams crossed above and matting formed the roof. There were no windows, only a few holes in the wall for air and light. Wood fires were in consequence undesirable ; although the cold was intense it was preferable to the wood smoke. We could but rest therefore for the night wearing our warmest clothing and walking about for additional warmth between the snatches of sleep procurable. In addition to a hurricane

blowing inside there was a noise of rushing waters outside, so altogether, discomforts being very great, we hailed with delight the first dawn of day.

There was little beauty about Dentam. Masses of French marigolds growing wildly only attracted attention and surprise. How they came there we failed to ascertain. The little hill—of about 50 feet—on which this half converted bungalow rested, was covered with them.

On a bright Sunday morning we commenced the least enjoyable of our marches. The dangers were considerable. The descent from Dentam is nearly perpendicular, and there was no pathway—only rough, stony ground. We reached the base of the hill only to ascend again, and our difficulties commenced when we found there a bridgeless stream to cross—the stream fairly deep. Some of the party crossed it by leaping from boulder to boulder—a most dangerous plan—but the more discreet ones waited for the erection of a bridge cleverly improvised by the Dandie men, but which necessitated hours of weary waiting. This was accomplished however only to lead us to fresh difficulties, which one of the guides returned to tell us of. There had been a serious landslide at the top of the mountain we were about to ascend, and we had therefore little courage to face the height of 2,000 feet which might eventually be impassable.

There was no pathway, we could but make our own as we went. It was a weary climb, rough and stony. We accomplished it however, and what a sight awaited us. The great mountain side all fallen away. A red mass of broken clay. To all appearance to cross over was impossible. There were the ponies to be thought of as well as 60 timid natives. After much thought and deliberation, however, we determined to try. The coolies were set to work to make ropes—to assist our own supply, which was insufficient. This finished, the operation of transport began. Firstly, one strong man was sent across, with two ropes attached, one to each arm, and so bound was directed to stand, or rather kneel, at the opposite side and allow the ropes, which were similarly attached on the near side, to form a support for the company, and again with ropes attached to

each we, one by one, clambered over on hands and knees a distance of over a hundred yards.

It was with much thankfulness that all were safely landed the other side, a mishap only occurring to one coolie who seemed overpowered with fear, hence the accident ; he slipped and fell, and for a time dangled in a somewhat uncomfortable attitude, until a supplemented force drew him up. The ponies were a more difficult matter and indeed we regretted the strain imposed upon them. Nevertheless, all were safely crossed, only like ourselves somewhat the worse for wear—and tear.

On starting again (and the reader will remember we were journeying from Dentam) the pathway proved as good as anticipated. It lay by the shady mountain side on pleasant mossy ground, so restful to our tired feet. Towards evening a very interesting surprise awaited us, when we came upon a Buddhist temple and monastery, all in most perfect order, but no signs of life about. Where the occupants had gone remained a mystery. Only every place was invitingly open and we freely availed ourselves of those open doors to enter and investigate the interior. The temple was a stone building of two storeys. The lower part strangely resembled our own English church. At the chief entrance door stood a huge silver vessel, roughly but quaintly fashioned and filled with water, the whole symbolical, it seemed to us of baptism. A wide aisle, with large pillars either side supporting the upper portion of the temple led up to the altar, and this was gaily decked with flowers and little gods and great gods, behind and on either side. In the upper part of the building a similar chapel was arranged, and in addition there were several small rooms, in which were carefully stored books, parchment and musical instruments and various gods of all sorts and sizes. In one of these rooms, we found a very old woman prostrate and in wild grief, lying low before her god, the natural instinct to cast her care somewhere evidently being strongly felt.

Outside and surrounding the temple were little stone built enclosures, each with altars inside and always adorned with flowers. Beyond all, was "God's Acre," large stone monuments marking the graves of the departed priests and all most prettily arranged with flowers and flowering shrubs and trees ;

lovely rose trees some 5 and 6 feet high were specially noteworthy, all speaking of the resurrection of the dead, and one wondered if some natural inborn instinct had prompted these beautiful flowers to be placed there—in this strangely picturesque cemetery.

All this was to be eclipsed by the grandeur of the temple we were still to see at Pamiongchi—our next resting place (6,920 above sea level)—where we arrived at sunset, glad after our experience of the previous night to find a fairly air-tight bungalow—although again it was only a half converted Bhutia house—but fortunately for us, in a more advanced stage of conversion. Here again we had a lovely view of the snows—the setting sun tinging them, when we arrived, with lovely prismatic colouring.

Tired though we were, we started at once to see the temple. A very steep pathway, cut in the forest, led to it. The order which marked the religious places of the Buddhist was very striking and this has no exception. As we approached the plateau of temple ground, sounds of their wild music reached us, proving that some service was going on and such proved to be the case. At the head of this pathway was a strong metal gateway with arch of beautiful carving—inside were many Bhutia houses, all in a row, and trim and bright with flowers, chiefly pink hydrangeas. From each house, as we passed, we could hear the monotonous intonation of prayers. Written prayers, as formerly described, were swaying flag-like with the breeze and being as it were continually offered up. The solemnity of the whole scene was, amply impressive, perhaps the more so because it was Sunday evening. For more than a year, since leaving home I had never had the opportunity of being in any place of worship, and to find so elaborate and ritualistic a service as this promised to be, in these lonely mountains was not without its moral and effect.

The temple, like that beyond Dantam, was a large building of two storeys and was built on the same principle, only was very much larger. Outside it, in an enclosure of stone wall and iron railing, some 60 monks were hard at work praying, or rather reading prayers and seemed less devout than intent on getting through the huge volumes of rough print in front

of each. We were amused at the manner, in which one of them paused in his prayers to ask us questions—proceeding always with his prayers while we replied. His questions,—which were very gruffly put,—were “Who are you!” “Where have you come from!” “Where are you going!” “What do you want!” “You may enter if you will take your hats off.” This, in reply to our request to do so. Which permission we at once availed ourselves of. It was a strange scene. Great silver vases again stood at the entrance. The chief people were sitting on benches, the rest were squatted on either side of the wide aisle at the top of which in the chancel, as it were, were seated the priests and beyond this was the altar laden with rich gold and silver ornaments. Gods were fixed in the wall like a reredos. A very venerable looking old priest was conducting the service, robed in crimson, very much like a Roman Cardinal and wore a biretta-like cap, which he frequently removed during the service as if in accordance with its ritual. He was reading prayers or rather muttering them at great speed, and at each pause a few bars of clanking cymbals and pipes seemed to express the amen of the congregation.

As we entered the church we noticed a few priests preparing over a stone some strong smelling white food—possibly rice and condiments. This was afterwards taken to the chief priest and was tasted by him in a most reverential and sacramental manner; it was then handed on to the lesser priests and by them to the congregation.

Greatly fascinated by the service and scene we lingered so long, that the setting sun had quite disappeared. Nightfall and lovely moonshine added new beauty to the place and its surroundings, and it was with reluctance that we tore ourselves away from it and its peaceful influence. Early next morning a long procession of priests and monks presented themselves at the rest-house. After making their *salaams* of welcome, they, two and two, came in front of us, and on bended knees presented their offerings of fruit, rice, butter, honey and many other things, which, of course, we accepted and in our turn handed them on to the servants who were greatly pleased at so much good luck. Conspicuous amongst these priests was



their leader, a man of giant-like proportions. We estimated his height at quite 6 feet 10. I asked him to write his name in my diary and this he did with child-like pleasure. In response to their invitation, we visited the temple again before leaving Pamiongchi and were greatly interested in all they had to show us. Old books, parchments, vestments, musical instruments, gods, etc. We were also invited to enter one of their houses and found it almost bare, but spotlessly clean. In one corner an old woman lay on a mat *charpoi* and on our entrance rose most respectfully and with many *salaams* made us welcome.

In the outer temple courts we found the monks again at their prayers, peace and order reigning everywhere, and surrounding all, scenery so grand as to baffle description. This lovely snowy range was bathed in sunshine—wooded ravines all round—flowering shrubs and trees scenting the air, and all glittering with the early morning dew. With much reluctance we left Pamiongchi. It had been the most interesting of our resting places. The next *dâk* was to Rinchinpong, 12 miles distant, and our most disastrous and difficult ride, because, owing to a bridge having been washed away in the rains, we were obliged to take an entirely unbeaten track. The spirit of adventure, however, being strong, we felt equal to the occasion.

We rode the very steep descent from Pamiongchi and crossed a wide stream there on foot, leaping from boulder to boulder, coolies with ropes on either side supporting us in the usual fashion. The ponies with ropes attached to each swam across—a fact detailed in few words, but which took hours to accomplish.

A few hundred yards of comparatively easy walking by the river's bed and then a nearly perpendicular ascent awaited us. "A stout heart for this stey brae" was, however, not wanting, but being warned by our guide that more difficult paths must follow, we felt it wise to husband our strength and ride up. The ponies would have their rest when the paths became too bad for riding. The path was very narrow and very stony and a great *kliud* on one side compelled undivided attention to be given to the ponies.

The heat at midday was very great and the pathway was for the most part unsheltered. I pass over the discomforts arising on this account, the least of which was not the stinging insects which thronged the air and from which there was no escape—a detail which the best tempered of us found it difficult to contend with in silence.

We passed some huts and were greatly pleased at the hospitality of the inmates, who came and presented us with a quantity of lovely, luscious, oranges. The more acceptable as our soda water supply had gone short. A fine open roadway followed, which the ponies enjoyed as much as we did, but too soon we had to diverge into deep jungle, in order to reach the stream where it would be most easily crossed. Guided by one of the inmates of those huts just passed, we walked through miles of this jungle, some 5 or 6 feet high. The ground for the most part was a trickling stream, with stony bed, but this was a mild preparation of what followed, when literally on hands and knees we crept along the slant of the mountain side with a great khud beneath us, which seemed to be of fathomless depth.

The ponies were all ahead of us led by the syces. There was no pathway, only the rough and rugged mountain side, hence the serious mishap which occurred. One of the ponies, a little Arab grey, slipped his footing and fell down the khud a distance of some 300 feet—a pitiful accident which depressed the party terribly. The syce went many miles distant in order to reach the foot of the khud, and there only to find the remains of the pony a horrible broken mass. The saddle and bridle with it also broken to atoms. Many may have seen in the *Graphic* an ideal picture of the pony's fall. Now we had to ride in turns as one of the party was horseless.

Precautions had now to be taken for the safety of the other ponies. This was most cleverly accomplished by one of the party. He set the coolies to work to make ropes of bamboos. With these and many stakes a barricade was erected. Similar ropes were made and attached to the ponies one by one; they were thus supported and led over this specially dangerous part.

A stiff descent of 500 feet followed, which we could only accomplish sitting and sliding down, and which being over a wet and rocky surface was not too pleasant. Slightly the

worse for wear and tear, we none the less reached the base in safety—thanks very much to the good help of the Police, who went one in front of each and gave to each the support of their nice broad backs. Throwing ourselves down in picturesque disorder on the somewhat marshy ground, we resolved—come what might—to remain there for the remainder of the day and the night. A broken down hut was the only shelter procurable. The roof was fairly intact, but the sides had long since severed all connection with it, save for a prop or two, and only a few planks remained to prove that there had once been a floor of sorts. Huge fires were lighted over which we cowered like gipsies—heedless of the wood smoke and smuts. Meanwhile an enterprising Bhutia anticipating the wants of the coolies and servants started a cook-shop in one corner, and doubtless to the tired and hungry beings the savoury mess prepared and sold by the pice-worth was very acceptable to them. Thus was passed the afternoon and night, moving about to keep warm, and taking it by turns to stoke the crackling fire. For provisions we were reduced to a tin of Huntley and Palmer's biscuits, a half bottle of brandy, a pot of Leibig and a bottle of quinine. A dose of the latter all round had the effect, like Mrs. Squeer's sulphur and treacle, of allaying hunger to an extent. The brandy and Leibig were administered in homeopathic doses; while the biscuits helped to satiate the actual pangs of hunger; and under so many adverse circumstances we all felt like Mark Tapley, some credit in being cheerful.

Owing to a bridge having been washed away in the rains we were obliged to diverge from the beaten track, and seek the most desirable place for erecting a temporary bridge by which we might cross the river, which lay in front obstructing for the time being our progress. At break of day the coolies were set to work to make ropes for the purpose. The work attempted was a daring one. Only a rope and bamboo bridge was possible, and that was of simplest construction. Three bamboos bound together with ropes attached to strong trees at either side, with ropes again placed higher, also attached as an extra support. The stream lay deep in the valley, quite one hundred feet below where the fragile attachment was possible. Great rocks in the river's bed, against which the fast flowing

river coursed sending beautiful spray far in the air, yet increased our fears in crossing. There was but one method possible, and that to be carried by the coolies, who fortunately were troubled with no such fears as we were. The leader of the party was the first to mount the coolie, a great strong burly fellow, pick a back. (We each in turn knew later that the position was by no means pleasant nor the odours, in consequence of the close embrace necessary.) With steady and unhesitating step, with Blondin-like dexterity, poised mid air and walking as it seemed on space, for the light bridge was all but invisible, the live burden was nevertheless safely deposited on the far side. Thus encouraged we, one by one, were carried over in safety. The coolies followed in quick succession, making light of what was so serious a matter to ourselves, and all but running across. A more difficult matter was the crossing of the ponies. These could only be forced and induced to swim across with ropes attached. The great rocks and boulders were a serious hindrance; the force of the waters dashing the struggling ponies against these resulted in many cuts and bruises. The crooning music of the syces were their great encouragement. After hours of patient work all were safely landed, only very exhausted and badly cut.

Fresh difficulties awaited us. There was a mile or more of very rough walking in the river's bed to reach the most direct line of ascent, where a passage had to be cut through dense jungle, the coolies doing so with their kookries. Under foot was wet and stony ground. Glorious sunshine however was overhead at start. The ascent was perpendicular alas! and progress very slow. Darkness rendered the more dense by the thickets of trees had overtaken us before one half of the route was covered, only 10 miles as the crow flies. Oh we were tired and weary, but yet there was enjoyment in the adventurous circumstances. It was late night when we reached Kinching-pong—all was darkness, no kindly moon to dispel it and show up what really we found in daylight was beautiful. A tumble down old Bhutia house was the only shelter to be had and gladly we availed ourselves of it. Utterly exhausted the servants and coolies flung themselves down in all directions. No crackling fires or merriment for them, we found the night's

hours scarcely less exciting than the day. Twice the thatched roof was on fire, sparks from the wood fire catching it, but discovered in time by one sleepless member of the party. It was fortunately extinguished before much harm had been done, but scarcely had all fears subsided when the second cry of "Fire" was raised, and this time with more serious results, for the remaining roof quickly fell in and all was blackness and confusion. We could but pitch our camp in the open, and picnic it for the remainder of our stay. Once more was quiet restored and attempt to sleep being made, when a raid of wild dogs, much more alarming than the fire, surrounded our encampment, plunging and tearing in all directions. The alarm of the servants and coolies was terrible. A few revolver shots, a little more howling and plunging, and while many remained proof of the massacre committed, the rest fled discomfited. A blazing fire in our midst, boiling kettle and comforting tea was soon a pleasing result. For the last two days we had had no proper meals and now the khansamah seemed bent on giving us a grand combination feast, breakfast, dinner, lunch and tea in one, and sitting round the blazing fire in really gipsy fashion we did full justice to it. In our very exhausted condition further progress seemed impossible, so we resolved to rest on at Kinchingpong in spite of the dilapidated condition of the house. The immediate surroundings were far from picturesque, situated in a basin-like hollow, all view was excluded. Only by scaling the heights could one see the grand heights beyond. From Kinchingpong our next march was to Chakung. Over two great mountains we had to pass, ascending one side to descend the other, and at the close of the day's march found ourselves one hundred feet higher. In the ravine was much native cultivation. Chrysanthemums and pampas grass were growing in luxurious plenty while pretty little rivulets added their beauty and babble. At Chakung very tiny was the rest-house, only two rooms and doors and windows all guiltless of locks and bars. The night was piercing cold, but all too sorry that this was our last night camping out, we enjoyed it to the full.

The following morning we started for Darjeeling, our last day's march of twenty miles. We commenced riding, but a

great rockslip in the mountain side soon obliged us to dismount and take a somewhat circuitous route to the base before we could find a possible crossing, and then we had to scramble over a long quarter mile of broken rock before finding *terra firma* again, by which again to ascend to the heights, when on a fine suspension bridge, the work of Messrs. Parry, we crossed the Teesta river. After miles of pleasant riding by the river, we reached the junction of two rivers, a remarkable sight which visitors travel long distances to see, but which the uninitiated would pass unnoticed. Judging from the many natives fishing, the stream was a prolific one. They were fishing with large nets like the fishermen of old, casting first on one side and then on the other. The surrounding scenery was very home-like with beautiful cool woodlands and expansive grass beyond the river. Pink flowering trees abounded, shedding bloom and fragrance around. Under these we found a lovely tiffin and resting ground, and thus well fortified we started, on our last march. We had no longer cause to complain of roads and were glad to find a fresh relay of ponies which enabled us to go apace and enjoy the ride. Passed a little village bright with shops of native stuffs and confections, we were next interested in a trim tea garden quite on the mountain side. Fifteen times we zig-zagged this mountain ere we reached its summit. A few women and children were picking the last leaves of the season.

The view continued grand all the way, beautifully fresh and green as spring time, but as we neared the station it was to be in cloudland again, and soon the bell of St. Joseph's and dusk warned us to make full use of our now tired ponies. So on we cantered as well as our own jaded condition would allow, and reached Darjeeling and the good Woodlands Hotel as darkness fell. Thus ended a delightful tour. I shall feel I have not recounted it in vain if it encourages any to go and see for themselves, and so enable them to describe to greater advantage than I have been able to do the beauties of a region unknown to many.

## CRITICAL NOTICES.

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**THE QUATRAINS OF HALI** (Maulavi Saliyd Altaf Hussain Ansari Panipati), edited with a translation into English by G. E. Ward, M.A. Henry Frowde. 1904.

“IN the reflection in a mirror of the rose, there is the colour of the rose, but the perfume of the rose is not there”—so wrote an old Urdu poet of the 18th century, and if the words apply not inaptly to Mr. Ward’s attempt to English the Quatrains of Hali, ’tis but in the nature of translations and mirrors that this should be so. Are not the mirrors that reflect and exude special perfumes—is not Fitzgerald’s ‘Omâr’—an exception?

But Mr. Ward has not attempted to make an English classic of the charming little Urdu volume. He has no desire to substitute the mirror for the rose. In a modest little preface he sets forth his object as being really an inducement to the possession of the rose itself. He English-es Hali in order that men may study him in the least tedious circumstances possible.

And, as a whole, the translation is both skilful and faithful. Take, for instance, the Quatrain on the prophet Mahmud and the line—

*Tauhid kô, tu nã,—â ke, Tauhid kiã.*

Mr. Ward renders this—

“Through Thee when Thou camest, was The One known as the One.”

And could we find happier language? The things indeed at which we cavil are not many, nor very important. Such, only for instance as—*imtiyaz* in page IX, which is rendered as *refinement*, when *aloofness* would give the better idea: or *bhaghta-o* (Quatrain 28), rendered *accomplish*, when the idea to be conveyed is rather that of *settling one’s affairs* in preparation for some great impending event; “accomplish with speed” does not convey this.

Again, on one or two occasions a more literal translation would have lent a peculiar quaintness and fascination to the verse. Take, for instance, (Quatrain 30)—

*Ban ban ke—yonhin khel bigar jāte hain.*

"Thus game after game as soon as made is but marred," says Mr. Ward : and the better and literal rendering "Game made and made are just so being marred" is banished to a footnote. *Hali* is a *nom de plume* for a Maulavi of Panipat, not the least of whose fame rests in the two great influences of his life—Ghalib, poet to the last King of Delhi, and Sir Saiyid Ahmed, the Mahommedan Reformer. Ghalib taught him how to sing, Sir Saiyid in what cause to sing.

The charge that India has no contemporary Vernacular Literature dies on the lips of the student of *Hali* : and that Mr. Ward's little book will swell the number of such students we have no doubt.

**KSHATRIYAS AND WOULD-BE KSHATRIYAS, by Kumar Cheda Singh Varma, B.A. Pioneer Press, Allahabad.**

THE *Katris*, a mercantile caste in the Punjab, have recently proclaimed themselves the true descendants of the Ancient Kshatriyas, and this has provoked the very readable little pamphlet under review.

Mr. Varma collects much sound learning on the history and origin of the splendid fighting caste of Ancient India—his authorities ranging from the Upanishads to the last Census report, and including such names as Cowell, Crooke, Garbe and Professor Bhandarkar.

In his opinion the trading community have been misled by the verbal similarity between *Khattriya* (the military caste) and *Khattri* (a Punjabi banker or grocer). The derivation of one, however, is a masculine and the other a feminine word. A *Khattri* was, it would seem, originally a Punjabi *baniya* who had married a woman of the *Kshatriya* caste.

Not the least interesting of his quotations is the chapter of legend and ancient story which attributes to the warlike caste not only the Monoism of the Upanishads, but the ethical rule of the Buddhist, and the faith of the Bhagabata.



**MAITREYI**, by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras.

is a slight tale of Vedic times introducing some discussion on the Vedic doctrine of *Self*. Its chief interest is the picture it paints for us of the ancient Hindu lady—a charming combination of submission and independence, of ignorance and learning.

Moreover in these days, skill and bravery at the choice of a woman, might even overcome caste ; even a Vaishya or ~~Sudra~~ might leap the Great Gulf between himself and Brahminhood, if he but hit the eye of the peacock in the great Swyamvara games. Are not these things but allegories ?

**RUDYARD KIPLING—A Criticism** by T. M. Robertson. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras.

THIS is a well-considered little pamphlet, wherein Mr. Robertson accords to Mr. Kipling the praise and blame of the discriminating. That Kipling has the master gift of clothing imagination in just the right word, he does not deny ; but after detailed examination of some of his best work, he concludes that “ Kipling is strong on the technical and temporamental side of fiction only, and weak to the last degree in the moral and intellectual.” His work—moments of inspiration, *e.g.*, the *Recessional*, apart—lacks congruity, and inherent probability ; and above all he uses the dummies to buttress his own particular boasts or bogies. And, as Mr. Robertson points out, this is not art. Russia is always vile, and always threatening India ; the Britain is always a superior and very fine fellow ; all critics of the South African war are but preparing themselves for a special hell. . . Russophobia swagger of race, violent political partisanship,—all these things are undignified, and change what might have been Imperialism into vulgar and malicious parochialism.

**THE EARLY HISTORY AND GROWTH OF CALCUTTA.** By Raja Binaya Krishna Deb. Calcutta : Romesh Chandra Ghose, B.A., 106/1, Grey Street. 1905.

It was during the search and collection of the materials for the *Memoirs of Maharaja Nubkissen Deb Bahadur* by Mr.

N. N. Ghose, Editor of the *Indian Nation*, that the writer of the volume before us was afforded a peep into the old records of the early transactions of the British in India. The result is the attractive and interesting volume before us.

Much of what is here recorded we have read before, but it is useful to have collected into one volume, facts and figures scattered throughout the early literature of Calcutta. The Early History of Calcutta, its topography and population, Religious, Charitable, and Educational Institutions, Trade and Commerce, Civil and Criminal Judicature, the Press, together with European and Hindu Society are all treated in this volume.

In the Chapter on European Society the author apologises for attempting to speak of the manners and customs of a foreign people—and in all cases he depicts the early state of European Society in India, as described by Europeans themselves,—and certainly from these descriptions “little morality was then to be found.” Surely, however, there were some Englishmen, who were not living in a constant state of immorality and intemperance?

There are various expressions scattered throughout the book which betray their Indian origin—but, taken as a whole, the work reflects the greatest credit on the industry and research of the author. It is beautifully printed, and is handsomely bound.

## VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

*Nârâyani* by Kshirode Prosâd Vidyâbinode. This is, the author informs us in the preface, his first work in the realm of fiction. It is seldom that in Bengal a novelist makes his *début* with a production so interesting, so promising, and so polished. We do not know if, in Bengal, there are at the present moment many writers of fiction who are within measurable distance of the exalted position once occupied by Bankim Chandra. If there are they should look to their laurels. The book is an ambitious work in which love, patriotism and self-sacrifice have been pressed into service to add variety of motive to human action. And a halo of romance hovers over the plot. It is the first of its kind in Bengali after *Anandamatha*, yet the book is not without its shortcomings. Tulasi, Sadâsib, Ratan, Beerchandra and Munna are all so good, and Ananda, Mukunda and their followers all so bad! Sadâjânanda is a stoic. And though Brown is a keepsake character we are of opinion the mistakes committed by the average European in India have been a little exaggerated. The momentary weakness into which Jânaki fell when the poor neglected girl—yearning in vain after her husband's love and longing—for what every woman counts her due, "love, children, happiness"—saw Sadâsib asleep on a marble bench in the blooming garden even like young *Kârtikeya*—is most natural, and makes us sympathise with her more in her distress. The descriptions in the book are charming, the characters varied and the character-painting creditable. But the author does not explain how the skeletons got up the tree. Why is the book named *Nârâyani*? It is in Tulasi that the current of the story sets, and *Nârâyani* is the worst developed character in the book. Then are we to believe that the author could not resist the temptation of naming his book after a princess though "fallen from her high estate!"

*Rudrasena* (a drama) by Nani Lal Banerjee. This book professes to be a translation of Shakespeare's *Othello*. The author has made alterations to make the book palatable to Bengali readers. But it is only "wasteful and ridiculous excess," but also staggering boldness—

“To gild refined gold, to paint the lily,  
To throw a perfume on the violet,  
To smooth the ice, or add another hue  
Unto the rainbow, or with the taper-light  
To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish.”

The get-up of the book is good. But—as Shakespeare puts it—“all that glitters is not gold.” Still—as we remarked on a previous occasion, it is a healthy sign of the times, due, we are of opinion, to the wholesome influence of English education, that Bengali writers are now trying to enrich their literature with translations of the masterpieces written in languages other than their own. As far as we are aware the following dramas by Shakespeare have already been translated into Bengali:—The *Tempest* by Hem Chandra Banerjee, *Macbeth* by Girish Chandra Ghose, *Romeo and Juliet* by Radha Madhab Kar and again by Hem Chandra Banerjee, *Midsummer Night's Dream* by Nabin Chandra Sen, and *Julius Cæsar* by Jyotirindra Nâth Tagore.

*Prithwirâj* (a drama) by Manomohan Goswami. This is one of those books which must be written to keep the stage going, for—in Calcutta—the actor must “strut and fret his hour upon the stage” thrice a week. The major portion of the book is written in the metre of which Bâbu Grish Chandra Ghose is the originator. Its characteristic is its want of conformity to regularity or convention. All that we can say of the book is that it is just a bit better than most ephemeral productions of this kind—to which may be applied the well-known lines—“on a bad translation”:—

“His work now done, he'll publish it no doubt,  
For sure I am that murder will come out.”

*Gân* (songs) by Behâri Lâl Sârcâr. It is positively refreshing to turn from the artificial hot house growth of the majority of modern Bengali songs to the natural bloom of Bâbu Behâri Lâl's songs. Their charm lies in their free flow and native air. Songs of all things must be true to the genius of the people, for a nation is sooner understood by the songs they sing than by volumes of history written about them. And it is with considerable pain that we have, of late, watched the artificiality of imitation take the place of free flow in Bengali songs. Hence it is with welcome relief that we have read Bâbu Behâri Lâl's songs. Bâbu Behâri Lâl is a journalist by profession who has now and then made excursions into the fields of history. Late in life he has turned to song, and that successfully.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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## CONTENTS.

	Page.
ART. I.—THE DEATH OF SHIVAJI	... 475
„ II.—THE CRIMINAL CLASSES OF THE BELL- ARY DISTRICT ... ..	... 498
„ III.—ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA	... 509
„ IV.—LORD CURZON ... ..	... 531
„ V.—RECOLLECTIONS OF RETIRED CHAPLAINS OF THE HON. E. I. CO. ... ..	... 553
VI.—NOTES ON THE CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS ... ..	... 602
„ VII.—THE FOLK LORE OF THE PSALMS	... 611
THE VICTORY ... ..	... 625
CRITICAL NOTICES—	
(1) A. Foucher : L' Art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara.	
(2) Sylvain Lévi : Le Népal ... ..	... 626
Memorials of Old Devonshire, edited by F. J. Snell, M.A. (Oxon). London : Bemrose and Sons ... ..	... 627
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ... ..	... 628

---

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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## Art. I.—THE DEATH OF SHIVAJI.\*

“ Comets, importing change of times and states,  
Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky,  
And with them scourge the bad revolting stars  
That have consented unto Henry's death ”

[*Shaks. I Henry VI, I. i. init.*]

AFTER a career unexampled for daring and success in the annals of modern India Shivaji died in his fifty-third year in 1680. He found the Moghul Empire at its height, in the zenith of its power and extent, and in a few years he succeeded in dealing it a blow from which it never revived. He gathered round him all the forces of reaction against that Empire, and raised the indigenous power of the Hindus to a height which it formerly seemed hopeless it ever could attain under the Mahomedan rule. He carved out for himself a kingdom when Aurangzib was dismembering other kingdoms, and brooked no other power in the land, but was bent on incorporating the kingdoms of the Deccan into the empire in the north and making the Moghul power really paramount throughout India. He made his own Mahratha people conscious of its own military prowess and raised it to a height which it would have been well for indigenous rule if it had retained. Shivaji himself foresaw that the power which he had built up so rapidly would not remain in its pristine vigour under his successors, as we shall presently see from the account in the *bakhar* of Sabhasad. In one generation power ceased to exist in anything but the name in his family, and would have gone entirely out of his people but for the Brahman Peishwas, upon whom, chiefly

\* An Essay read before the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, on the occasion of its centenary.

devolved the momentous task of upholding Mahratha supremacy for nearly a century. They acquitted themselves very creditably of this task on the whole ; and if their power went down, it was only before that of the English, a power which nothing in the land could withstand, before which the Mahomedan had already gone down, and the Sikh, greater than Mahratha or Mahomedan, was destined to fall half a century later. Before the advent of the English, the Peishwas bade fair to be the paramount power in India, and even the English did not rest securely in their supreme position till they had disposed of the formidable power of the Peishwas. And even in later times the spectre of Brahman supremacy has continued to haunt them on occasions.

Of Shivaji's concluding moments and death there are several accounts which it would be interesting to recount here for comparison. First there is the contemporary account by the *bakhar* writer, Chrisnaji Anant Sabhasad, who wrote his life under Shivaji's son, Rajaram, in 1698. This is fairly long, and on the whole appears faithful with its interesting details. This *bakhar* is not well known to all students of history, and even by Mahrathas, who deservedly attach a high importance to this among other *bakhars*, it is more praised than read and studied. I think the edition of Mr. Sane has been long out of print and no one seems to care to re-print it, a good example of the negligence of the Mahrathas for their historical literature. Sabhasad, as his name signifies, was a courier of Rajaram, for whom he specially wrote this life of Shivaji. According to him, when Sambhaji returned to Panhala after his unsuccessful overtures to Aurangzib and was reconciled to his father, Shivaji left that place for Raighad, in order to perform there the marriage ceremony of his younger son Rajaram. He said he would soon return and attend to the administration of his new possessions. The marriage was performed at Raighad with great pomp and large sums were given in charity.

Soon after, says Sabhasad, the king was attacked by fever. He was a righteous personage, and possessed foreknowledge of the time of dissolution. He thought within himself that his end was approaching and therefore summoned before him the wisest of his karkuns and servants. He said to them that his

death was approaching and that he was going to see the Goddess Bhowani and reside in the paradise of Shiva. Then he spoke as follows : " With regard to my sons, when I saw I was getting feeble, I told Sambhaji, my eldest son, at Panhala that I was desirous of dividing my kingdom between my two sons. Sambhaji did not like my proposal. My end is now approaching. From my original possession of the Mahal of Poona, which was worth 40,000 honcs, I have now raised my acquisitions so as to be worth one crore of honcs. I also acquired these forts, strongholds, Pagas and the army. If Rajaram lives long after my death he alone will preserve and enlarge this vast kingdom. Sambhaji is sensible, yet of loose and dissolute habits, and I do not know how to act under the circumstances, especially as my end is now drawing near. You are old and experienced karkuns and servants in this kingdom of the Mahrathas and you must therefore have already been familiar with this state of things. After my death Sambhaji will usurp everything to himself by his exploits. Being the elder son, the army will prefer him and flock to his standard. Rajaram being the younger son, the army will not care to win his favour. The sirkarkuns will advocate the cause of Rajaram and urge the necessity of dividing the kingdom between the two brothers. The army will not agree with the karkuns, who will be betrayed by it. Sambhaji will put to the sword many eminent Brahmans of my time. There will thus be the sin of Brahman slaughter. He will next lay violent hands upon the Mahratha Sirdars in the army and degrade and even kill them. The mean and the insignificant will prevail. The respectable will dwindle into insignificance. Sambhaji will indulge in intoxicating drugs and in amorous pleasures. In the forts, strongholds and throughout the kingdom there will be injustice and offences. Sambhaji will not respect the 'worthy. He will squander away all the wealth and treasure. As soon as he learns of Sambhaji's weakness, Aurangzib will take advantage of the disorder into which my kingdom will fall and invade and capture Bijapur, Bhagnagar and even this kingdom. Ultimately Sambhaji will be ruined. Just as Futteh Khan turned disloyal to his father Malik Ambar Nizam Shah and treacherously deprived him of his kingdom and ultimately lost it, so

will Sambhaji lose my kingdom. Rajaram will then succeed to the throne and will reconquer the lost kingdom and restore order. He will perform deeds more chivalrous than mine. Now with regard to the kárkuns, the eminent sirkárkuns of my time, Sambhaji will not allow them to see the light of day. Pralhadpant and Ramchandra Nilkanth will however be illustrious. Nilkanth will also be popular. There will be a few others similarly illustrious, but these will be very few. Of the Mahrathas, Sambhaji will extirpate many. Of those that remain, Santaji Ghorpadé, Bahirji Ghorpadé, Dhanaji Jadhav will, if they live, perform chvalrous deeds. These three Brahmans and Mahrathas will prove serviceable in recovering the lost kingdom." Thus spoke the king.

Thus far Sabhasad. This speech of Shivaji is very probably composed by Sabhasad himself ; but the sentiments put into the mouth of Shivaji are historically true and correct. It is interesting to find the Mahratha chronicler unconsciously imitating in this matter of speeches the great classical historians like Thucydides and Livy, who constantly compose speeches for their heroes and make them speak for themselves. The courtier-like manner in which Sabhasad, true to his name, flatters delicately the vanity of his patron Rajaram, for whom, as we have said, he wrote this chronicle of his great father's deeds, by making Shivaji prophecy his son's greatness, reminds one of Shakespear's similar flattery of Elizabeth, under whom he wrote and for whose court he composed several of his plays,—how he puts in the prophetic mouth of Cranmer in the presence of her father, Henry VIII, though of course there is a vast gulf between these finished lines of the famous world-poet and the crude effort of the Mahratha chronicler,—the following :—

“ Let me speak, Sir,

For Heaven now bids me ; and the words I utter,  
 Let none think flattery, for they'll find them truth.  
 This royal infant ( Heaven still move about her ! )  
 Though in her cradle, yet now promises  
 Upon this land a thousand, thousand blessings,  
 Which time shall bring to ripeness. She shall be  
 ( But few now living can behold that goodness )  
 A pattern to all princes living with her,  
 And all that shall succeed : Sheva was never  
 More covetous of wisdom, and fair virtue,

Than this pure soul shall be : all princely graces,  
 That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,  
 With all the virtues that attend the good,  
 Shall still be doubled on her : truth shall nurse her,  
 Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her,  
 She shall be loved and fear'd : her own shall bless her,  
 Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,  
 And hang their heads with sorrow : good grows with her.  
 In her days every man shall eat in safety,  
 Under his own vine, what he plants ; and sing  
 The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours.  
 God shall be truly known ; and those about her  
 From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,  
 And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.  
 She shall be to the happiness of England  
 An aged princess ; many days shall see her.  
 And yet no day without a deed to crown it,  
 Would I had known no more ! but she must die —  
 She must the saints must have her—yet a virgin ;  
 A most unspotted lily shall she pass  
 To the ground, and all the world shall mourn her."

[ *Henry VIII.*, V. 5, *ad fin.* ]

Sabhasad continuing his account says that after Shivaji had concluded his prophetic address, all the attendants were overcome with grief ; they stood in silence and tears began to run down their cheeks. The king seeing this said : " Grieve not ; this is but a mortal world. As many as are born perish. Calm your feelings, be of pure hearts, be peaceful and happy. Now sit quiet till I hold communion with my patron goddess (Bhowani)." The attendants accordingly sat in silence. Then the king bathed in the sacred waters of the Bhagirathi, rubbed ashes on his body, put on a necklace of Rudraksha—the berry of a tree sacred to Shiva his eponymous god—and having composed himself to abstract spiritual devotion, was lost in solemn communion. He expired at Rayghad in the afternoon of Sunday, the 15th of the light half of Chitra, in the year of Saliwan 1602, Roudra Samvatsar. " The angels of Shiva brought a chariot of the god in which his spirit was taken to Kailas, heaven ; the perishable portion of himself, his body, being left in this mortal world."

The Rairi *bakhar* is another important and authentic chronicle of the life and deeds of Shivaji. It is so called because it was deposited in the fortress of Rairi which is now conclusively



identified with Raighad, the place where Shivaji died. Orme had previously placed it "fifty miles north and by west from Poona." <sup>1</sup> Scott Waring, however, has shown that Orme was misled by Fryer's account of Oxenden's mission to Shivaji. "Lieutenant Goodfellow, of the Bombay Engineers, established on the spot that Raighad to this day is called Rairi, and that instead of being north-west of Poona, it is situated thirty-eight miles west and forty-two south from Poona. This information I had always received, but it is owing to the active and intelligent exertion of Colonel Close, ardent in the promotion of all geographical inquiries, that its precise situation is now established beyond all question." <sup>2</sup> This *bakhar* is considered by Scott Waring, a very good authority on Mahratha historical MSS., as the most authentic of the four *bakhars* of Shivaji he had. <sup>3</sup> He evidently had not before him that of Sabhasad. This *bakhar*, "which was kept at Rairi, the ancient capital of Shivaji's empire" <sup>4</sup> was published for the first time by the Bombay Government in a volume of "Letters and State Papers in the Bombay Secretariat," edited by Mr. G. W. Forrest twenty years ago.

In this chronicle there is a somewhat different account of Shivaji's death from that given by Sabhasad. "Shivaji marched and plundered Jalnapur. Ranmast Khan came and opposed Shivaji. One day the Khan's troops made a furious attack on Shivaji's army. Sadhoji Nimbalkar, a Sirdar and over five thousand in Shivaji's service, was killed, and Shivaji was defeated and fled to the fort of Putta to which he gave the name of Vikramghad. After that Shivaji went to Raighad, and the Dasseria sent his Sirdars to collect Mulukgiri. Shivaji was soon afterwards seized with a violent fever which carried him off on the ninth day. His death happened in the year 1602 of the Salivan era (1680 A. D.). Shivaji, before he died, gave a paper, which he had written to Moro Pant Anaji Duttu Sabnavis and Babul Parbhu Chitnavis. At that time Shivaji's younger son, Rajaram, was at Raighad. His eldest son, Sambhaji, was

<sup>1</sup> *Fragments of the Moghul Empire*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Mahrathas*, 1810, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 195.

at Panhala. The officers to whom Shivaji had given the paper gave the Government to Rajaram. The other Chiefs were averse to this measure, and joined Sambhaji." <sup>1</sup>

Sabhasad we have seen makes Shivaji foretell the future on his death-bed. The Rairi chronicler also makes him prophetic. But he puts the event seven years earlier, when his patron goddess Bhowani possessed him for a few hours and showed him future events. This is much more striking than the former account as it goes farther into the future. "When Shivaji went to take half his share of Chandi Chunjavar in the year of Salivan 1595 (1673 A.D.) the goddess Bhowani came into his body and remained there five hours, during which time she gave him a view of future events, *viz.*, that all his domains would fall into the hands of people with red faces; that Shambhaji would be taken prisoner by the Moghuls; that Raja Ram would succeed him on the musnad; that Shivaji would in the course of time come into the world again under a new form, and extend his dominions to Delhi; and that dominion would remain in the Bhonsle family for twenty-seven generations; all this Raghunath Narayan Hunavanti and Dattoji Pant Wakarnavis and Babul Parbhu Chitnavis committed to paper." <sup>2</sup>

Of accounts by Europeans we possess two by contemporaries who were in India at the time of Shivaji's death, Manucci and Fryer. Manucci was a Venetian physician who resided forty-eight years in India and was in the service of the Moghul Emperors Shah Jehan and Aurangzib. He wrote memoirs of the Moghul sovereigns which were derived from Moghul chronicles preserved at Delhi in Persian. They were written in Portuguese, into which the Persian extracts had also been translated. They were sent to Europe in manuscript, but were not published. But Father Catrou, a learned Jesuit, based his history of the Moghul Empire published at the Hague in 1715 on these MS. memoirs of Manucci, and it is through this work that we know them. Unfortunately the complete work of Catrou which includes the reign of Aurangzib and life of Shivaji is very rare, and is not in our library, and I could not find it

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, Bombay, Vol. I, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers*, *ut supra*.

elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> An English translation was published in 1826, but this is incomplete as it comes up to Shah Jehan and does not include Aurangzib's eventful reign. We have this incomplete translation in our library.<sup>2</sup>

Orme, who has written much and well on Shivaji, has evidently consulted Catrou's history of Aurangzib based on Manucci's memoirs, as he says: "Catrou although guided by Manucci (who says more of Shivaji than all the other writers, and particularises the cause of his death) simply says that he died in 1679, from which we conclude that Catrou did not find the particular date in Manucci's manuscript, and gave it generally from a conjecture of his own."<sup>3</sup> Scott Waring says that the account of Shivaji's death by Orme "is natural, and I should have adopted it, had I known upon what authority it was given."<sup>4</sup> But in the passage given above Orme indicates clearly his authority to have been Manucci as given by Catrou. We will give Orme's account which seems to be a version of Catrou-Manucci, failing Father Catrou's own French. "Shivaji was gone from Rairi, but no one knew whither, a convoy of money to a great amount was coming to Aurangabad, of which as of everything concerning his enemy he received early intelligence; and taking his time before his intentions could be suspected, issued with a detachment of his hardiest cavalry, remote from all the Moghul's stations, and fell upon the convoy before his approach was known, within a few miles from Barhampore, where it would have been safe, until sent forward with stronger escort. He seized the whole, and brought it without interruption and the same rapidity to Rairi. But the purchase was dearly earned; for the excessive strain of fatigue, greater than any he had endured since his escape from Delhi, caused an inflammation in his breast, attended with spitting of blood: his disorder, although increasing every day, was kept secret within his palace at Rairi; and if it had been published would not have been believed, since he had more than once sent abroad reports of his death, at the very

<sup>1</sup> Edition in 5 volumes, French, 1715. *Biog. Universelle sub nomine.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Irvine, Art. on Manucci, in Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *Fragments*, p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Mahrathas*, p. 205.

time he was setting out on some signal excursion ; and at this very time his army towards Surat, which he probably intended to have joined, were acting with such ravage and hostility up to the walls that the city imagined Shivaji himself was commanding in person ; and expected an assault with so much terror that the English Presidency sent off the treasure of their factory across the river, to the Marine of Swally, where lay some of their ships ; and the Governor of the town redeemed his fears by a large contribution, with which Moro Pandit returned to Rairi to see his master die. He expired on the 5th of April 1680, and in the fifty-second year of his age. His funeral pile was administered with the same sacrifices as had been devoted the year before to the obsequies of the Maharaja, Jeshwant Sing of Jodhpur : attendants, animals, and wives were burnt with his corpse." <sup>1</sup>

The other contemporary European account, that of Fryer, the famous English physician who was in Bombay and Western India from 1674 to 1682, does not throw any light on the cause of Shivaji's death, but merely records it with a wrong date, as we shall presently see, and gives details of the funeral ceremonies. Scott Waring, whose *History of the Mahrathas* written in 1810 is very important, and whose account of Shivaji is based as we have said above on four *bakhars*, including the Rairi, says : " He retired to *Rairi* (*sic*, Rairi), and as usual among the Mahrathas, detached his troops after the Dasara to raise contributions from the neighbouring provinces. His constitution had now begun to fail : he was seized with a spitting of blood and expired upon the 5th of April 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign dating it from the death of his guardian Kondev." <sup>2</sup> Grant Duff in his *History of the Mahrathas*, first published in 1826, says that " he was taken ill at Raighad, occasioned by painful swelling in his knee-joint, which became gradually worse and at last threw him into a high fever, which on the seventh day from its commencement terminated his existence on the 5th day of April 1680 in the fifty-third year of his age" <sup>3</sup> He does not mention his

<sup>1</sup> *Fragments*, ed. 1105, pp. 89—70.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Mahrathas*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I., p. 295.

authority, but he must have had some Mahratha MS. lives of the hero before him. It may be here noted that both Shivaji and Napoleon died young at exactly the same age of fifty-three, and that Julius Cæsar was only two years older at his death than either.

The usual suspicion of poison when an Asiatic ruler dies was not altogether absent in the case of Shivaji. "The Mahratha MSS.," says Scott Waring, "insinuate a suspicion of poison. The suicide of his wife, whose views (of setting her son Raja Ram on the throne) had failed, almost justifies this supposition. One Mahratha MS. expressly charges her with the murder."<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting if these MSS. were to turn up. So far as I am aware they have not yet turned up. But that they exist we know on the very high authority of Scott Waring.

It remains to be said that the Persian MSS. attribute Shivaji's death to the prayers of a Mussalman devotee.<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Scott, in his continuation of Ferishta's History of the Deccan, from supplementary Persian sources says that the curses of a Moslem saint brought about his death. In the journal kept by a Bundela officer, which came into the possession of Jonathan Scott and which he translated as "Auranzib's Operations in the Deccan," this writer, who was a contemporary of Shivaji's, says: "Shivaji having marched from his country to invade the Imperial territories, totally laid waste the district of Jalnehr and others; and his soldiers, notwithstanding his commands to the contrary, offered insults to the servants of Jan Mahomed, a religious devotee, from whose curses it was believed Shivaji was taken ill, and shortly after died."<sup>3</sup> This is a truly Oriental explanation of the death, and it may be that the people, both Hindu and Mahomedans, believed in it, as belief in death and misfortunes from curses of holy men is very common in this country and the East generally. But the real cause is, as Scott remarks, that he died neither by poison, nor the visitation of God at the prayers of a devotee, but rather by an illness from fatigue in his fight and vexation at the ill-success of his arms. Shivaji, it will be remembered, according to one

<sup>1</sup> *History of Mahrathas*, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the Deccan*, ed. 1796, Vol. II., p. 54.

account, was defeated in his last expedition, and pursued by the Moghul General Ranmust Khan; and also his fleet was destroyed about this time, by the Sidi of Janjira in conjunction with the English at Bombay.

As to the date of his death almost all authorities agree that it was 5th April 1680. It was the 15th of the light half of Chaitra in the Salivan year 1602, according to Sabhasad's *bakhar*. According to calculations I have made, making use of tables given in Messrs. Sewell and Dikshit's "Indian Chronology" <sup>1</sup> This Hindu date corresponds with the date given above and in Orme, Scott Waring and Grant Duff. Curiously the two contemporary European writers above noted give wrong dates in their, otherwise, excellent accounts of him. Manucci, according to Catrou, as we have seen in Orme, gives 1679; <sup>2</sup> but we may adopt Orme's explanation of this mistake as Catrou's, who "did not find the particular date in Manucci's MS. and gave it generally from a conjecture of his own." <sup>3</sup>

Fryer, the careful physician and traveller, whose travels are so interesting for the accounts of affairs in India that were happening in the eventful times when he was here in the seventies of the seventeenth century, says that Shivaji died on 1st June 1680. We quote what he has to say about his death and funeral in his own quaint language: "In the heat of all these combustions, the firebrand Seva Gi is called to pay the common debt to nature, he expiring 1st June 1680, though after some time his arms are carried on by his son Sambu Gi Raja, whose first care was to solemnize his father's exequies with hellish and cruel rites, after the barbarous custom of these princes, to burn all that were grateful to them when living, to attend them in the other state of life; doubtless deriving it (which is more than alluding to) from the ancient Getæ, their first parents and not theirs alone, but of all the world since the Deluge. . . . Seva Gi while living, as he delighted in fire and sword, so he was sent out of the world with a numerous company consumed in his flames: yet not such a train as

<sup>1</sup> London, 1895, Table I, p. CXXXVIII. Cf. also Cunningham's "Indian Eras," p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *Fragments*, p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Raja Jessinsin had when he died, which was far greater, being a more potent though less barbarous Raja ; but his widow now holding out against the Mogul, though his prime lady, being then big with child, was excused, and she still is preserved to bring up the young prince, whom they own for their Raja. Thus these two great Rajas being disposed of by Fate, the Gentiles seem to be under hatches (the Moghul for the present persecuting them with the utmost severity and hatred) and the rather, for that the great Ministers of the deceased Siva Gi were at variance about the promotion of the successor. Anna Gi Pundet, Chief Minister of State, setting up the younger son, and Morad Pundet declaring for Sambu Gi, the eldest ; who after punishing his opposers, was before the time fit for expedition in the low countries, proclaimed Man Raja as the lawful heir to his father's conquest." <sup>1</sup> We may here note in passing that Fryer's quaint way of spelling Indian names, though sometimes faulty owing to false analogy, is yet not without its redeeming feature. He is distinctly wrong in calling Moro Pundit, Morad Pundet, here he is misled by the false analogy which the Hindu name bears to the Mahomedan. But his method of separating the Gi or Ji in Hindu names is rational, and more likely to point out that the real name is Seva or Sambha and the Ji is a mere honorific addition.

But though Fryer was a contemporary writer, he is wrong in his date, and this Orme, perhaps the most valuable of all writers on Indian history, alike for style and accuracy, and the critical judgment with which he used available authorities, points out ably in his note on the subject : " Mr. Frayer is mistaken in saying Shivaji died on the first of June 1680 ; but as Mr. Frayer did not digest his letters for publication until twenty years after their date, his memory might easily fail in correcting the error of his memorandum." <sup>2</sup> He points out that letters from the English authorities at Bombay, Surat and Rajapore prove that the 5th of April is the true date. He does not rely on the Mahratha MSS. for this, but has English records to help him ; and these latter confirm

<sup>1</sup> A New Account of East India. Lond., 1698, pp. 415-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Fragments*, p. 260.

independently the former. How the mistake in the date arose may be at once seen from the letters of the Surat and Bengal authorities answering their Bombay friends who had written to them informing them of Shivaji's death. The English at Bombay wrote on 28th April 1680 saying: "We have certain news that Sevajee Rajah is dead; it *is now twenty-three days since he deceased*, 'tis said of a bloody <sup>1</sup> flux being sick twelve days."<sup>2</sup> To this those at Surat replied on the 7th of May, "Sevajee's death is confirmed from all places; yet some are still under a doubt of the truth, *such reports having been used to run of him before some considerable attempt*; therefore shall not be too confident until better assured." The English in Bengal were more incredulous still, and in this incredulity we see the terror in which he was held by people everywhere, the Moghuls as well as the English, in Bombay and Surat as well as in Delhi and Bengal. "Sevagi," write the Bengal agents, in reply to the Bombay letter, on the 13th December 1680: "Sevagi *has died so often* that some begin to think him immortal. 'Tis certain little belief can be given to any report of his death until experience tell of the waning of his hitherto prosperous affairs; since when he dies *indeed*, it is thought he has none to leave behind him that is capacitated to carry on things at the rate and fortune he has all along done."

What Fryer says about the barbarous and horrid funeral rites is unfortunately true, though no mention of them is made in the *bakhars*, chiefly because they were supposed to be a matter of course and hardly worth mentioning. Orme remarks upon these rites that they "almost revoke the respect which contemplation cannot refuse to the gentle manners of the Hindus in all other observances. The Brahmans always preside and officiate in these sacrifices, and with more zeal than in any other of their priestly functions, excepting when they

<sup>1</sup> This cause of his death is confirmed by the author of the "Maasir-Alamgiri," a history of Aurangzib's reign written by a contemporary writer Mustaridd Khan, and finished in 1710, a few years after its close. "On the 24th of 'Rabiul Akhir,' Siva returned from riding; he was overcome by the heat, vomited blood and expired." (Apud, Elliot "Historians of India," Vol. VII, p. 305 n.) The famous Khafi Khan who wrote under Aurangzib notes that "in the course of the same year (1090 of the Hegira, *ie.*, 1680 A.D.) Sivaji was attacked by illness and died." (*Ibid.*)

<sup>2</sup> Orme from Records at the India House, London, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> *Apud.*, Orme, *Fragments*, p. 259.



sacrifice themselves to save the temple of their religion." <sup>1</sup> The mother of Shivaji's son, Rajaram, was exempted from the funeral pile, as having passed the term of beauty which, remarks Orme, seems alone to be consecrated to this cruel penalty. This wife of Shivaji, Tara Bai, was suspected of having poisoned him, as we have seen, and committed suicide when her project to place her son, Rajaram, on the throne immediately on the death of his father failed. "Too ~~va~~ Bhy disappointed in her scheme of placing her son on the throne, to effect which it was supposed she had poisoned Shivaji, destroyed herself." <sup>2</sup>

Recording the death of Shivaji, the *bakhar* writer, Krishnaji, Anant Sabhasud, says that "the king was no doubt an incarnation of the deity. By his exploits he established his sway over the vast range of country extending from the Nerbuda to Shri Rameswar, and having harassed and overrun the territories of the Adilshahi, Nizamshahi, Kutbushahi and Mughlai Governments and kept in awe the twenty-five Emperors that reigned over the sea, established a new kingdom of his own and assumed the throne and Chhatra under the title and dignity of the first Mahratha Emperor, and ultimately having died when he was disposed to die, went to Kailas. No such hero was ever born nor will there be any in the days to come." And the awful events that happened when he died which the chronicler narrates, were in keeping with this character. "On the day of the king's demise there was an earthquake, also the rising of a comet, the falling off of stars and a pair of rainbows at night in the heavenly firmament; everywhere there was mist; the people at Shri Sambhu Mahadeo were frightened. The fishes leapt out of the water."

We might at first be disposed to set this down to Oriental credulity, and brush it aside as a pardonable untruth. The mind, and specially the Oriental mind, loves to picture the forces of Nature as mourning for their great men, and associate extraordinary phenomena with their deaths. So we might think the Mahrathas fancied all the strange things they are here alleged to have seen out of their excessive love and admiration

<sup>1</sup> *Fragments*, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Scott Waring, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

for their national hero, who was called away from their midst. But with some exaggeration, natural enough under the circumstances, this seems to be true, and we have excellent independent evidence of an eye-witness that strange, very strange things were seen about the time Shivaji died; and it is to this I would draw your attention particularly to-day. Great calamities in which men somehow see the hand of Providence seem to be connected, or say coincide with great events in the lives of great men, their birth, accession, death. Both the accession to the throne of Akbar in 1556 and his death in 1605 were accompanied by famines of great magnitude. To take an instance nearer to our own time, as I have shown elsewhere<sup>1</sup> memorable dates in the life and reign of our late Queen, Victoria of saintly memory, are connected with great calamities which mark out its prominent years in India. Her birth in 1819 was marked by a great earthquake; her accession in 1837 coincided with a widespread famine and plague, soon followed by the disastrous first Afghan War; her proclamation as Queen of India in 1858, followed upon the unparalleled calamity of the Indian Mutiny; her proclamation as Empress in 1877 was in the midst of another great famine, soon followed by the calamitous second Afghan War; the celebration of her Diamond Jubilee of Sixty years in 1897 was a year unparalleled for calamity, plague and famine and frontier wars; and finally the year of her death, 1901, saw the recurrence of famine and continuation of plague, and war in various parts, in South Africa and China.

Nature seems to burn great dates in history into the memory of men by associating striking events, generally calamities, with them. The reigns of Akbar and of Victoria are the best periods of Indian history; but in order to make them indelibly memorable, their great years, the *anni mirabiles*, are associated with striking calamities. So it seems is the case with Shivaji. The year of his exit from the land was marked by events calculated to inspire awe into the people. The death of such a popular and national hero who had succeeded in reviving the spirit of nationality among a fallen people, was in itself a sufficiently awe-inspiring event. To mark this event, so it

<sup>1</sup> *Calcutta Review*, Jan. 1898.

seems, a comet appeared in the heavens, not an ordinary comet such as appears every few years, but a really extraordinary one, both in its brilliance and the awe that it inspired. Such a comet appears very rarely, but once or twice in a thousand years. According to the famous astronomer, Halley, it appears once only after the long period of 576 years, and according to recent calculations necessarily more exact, it appears but once in 8,813·9 years, and according to some astronomers it will never come again <sup>1</sup>.

The Mahratha chronicler is confirmed in the main by Fryer, who, of course, was unconscious of what the courtier of Rajaram had written. The *bakhar* was curiously written in the same year that Fryer published his travels, 1698, from his notes made in India nearly twenty years before. Fryer mentions several extraordinary phenomena as having occurred in the year 1679-80, the year of Shivaji's death. We shall quote his accounts of them here. Writing on the last day of the year 1679 he says: "This year has been filled with two portentous calamities, the one inland, a shower of blood for twelve hours; the other on the sea-coast, Mechalapatam (Maslipatam) being overturned by an inundation, wherein sixteen thousand souls perished <sup>2</sup>." This was four months before the death of the hero. Writing in 1681, 25th January, he mentions more strange events still—a few months after his death. "This year (1680) a drought was feared, which the Brahmins interpret a judgment for the Emperor's persecuting the Gentoos, which whether it gain credit among all people, I cannot tell. But that night and day a mixed multitude of all sorts ran through the streets of this city [Surat], after the Brahmins carrying a board with earth upon their bare heads and crying: *Bowe bege payre des*; on which old and young make the chorus to the precentor, sprinkling water and sowing rice thereon, saying the same after the Brahmin, which in English is *God give us water*; and on this impending affliction they are very charitable, and give great largesses to the poor <sup>3</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Halley's "Astronomy of Comets," apud Whiston's "Newton's Phil., more easily demonstrated," 1716, p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> *East Indies*, p. 414.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 418.

Continuing, Fryer says that " I should have concluded these remarks here, had not a wonderful sign in the heavens appeared to call for animadversion, which, beginning the 20th of November (1680), disappeared not till the latter end of January (1681) which enters on the next year, that within the space of our Europe fleet may bring you the rise and fall of the most prodigious comet I ever was witness to; or it may, the oldest men alive: What makes me more willing, is, that I may have your account overland, whether it was visible in England, and what observations our prying world have made thereon. Eleven degrees from the earth, south-east, a terrible flaming torch was seen in the skies in Capricorn, near the head of Sagitarius, darting its rays upwards to the stars; at first, not above two ells in a small stream, but day by day as it inclined to the horizon, the flame grew longer but slenderer; it rose first at three in the morning, and so later and later till the sun outshone it; and as if it had circled the globe, at last it arose and set at nights, after the sun was down, when we beheld it W.N.W. which was on the evening of the twelfth of December, and about seven at night; at first no bigger than a man's hand from its coming forth of the horizon, which thence arose with a mighty *fulgor* or shining light for more than nine degrees, as big as a rainbow towards the highest part of the hemisphere; or, to speak more truly, like a pillar of fire, whose basis, whether for its tardy rise of the clouds gathered about the atmosphere, I could not discern till the seventeenth, it setting about nine o'clock; but after that time it ascended above the horizon, and passing the middle of the heavens (which afore it seemed to enlighten after seven) as it grew higher it lost of its brightness and splendour, but looked more fiery. January, the 16th, 1681 it had attained its zenith, when about the noon of night it vanished, and so by degrees at last it came to nothing. While this was reigning, several in the Hole [Swally—Hole, near Surat] and Bazzar, at Swally, attested they saw two moons; others of our Englishmen, out a hunting after sunset, saw an unusual star of the bigness of the sun, which must certainly be this fiery ejaculation, striking obliquely upwards, being equally thick until its highest part had stretched itself into a column. It pointed towards the north, and whether it be meteor, comet,

or exhalation, it is certainly ominous ; and since they disclaim its influence here, I wish it may not affect our European kingdoms ; for says Clandian :—

“ In coelo nunquam spectatam impune Cometam”

“ In Heaven no Comet ever shin’d

Which was not grievous to mankind.”

(Fryer, *ibid*, p. 419.)

This is all very like what Sabhasad says happened at the time of Shivaji's death : “the rising of a comet, the falling off of stars, and a pair of rainbows at night.” Fryer even adds to these wonders his own : “a double moon, a ‘star of the bigness of the sun,’ and a shower of blood.” The earthquake spoken of by the chronicler is evidently the tidal wave, the “overturning inundation” at Maslipatam mentioned by Fryer. It may be noted that Fryer does not connect them with Shivaji's disappearance from the earth, and the Englishman would have no motive, as the native chronicler would have, in magnifying the event.

Leaving the other strange phenomena alone for the present, we shall pursue the comet further. There is not the slightest doubt that it appeared a few months after Shivaji's death. It is famous all over the world and is historical, in that it was the first comet whose course was scientifically examined. The great Newton utilised it to give a valuable confirmation and proof of his gravitation theory, and deduced, from his observations of it, his famous laws of parabolic orbits for comets. “The great comet of 1680,” says a distinguished astronomer of our day, Prof. Simon Newcomb, “is remarkable for being not only a brilliant comet, but the one by which Newton proved that comets move under the influence of the gravitation of the sun. It first appeared in the autumn of 1680 and continued visible most of the time till the following spring. It fell down almost in a direct line to the sun passing nearer to that luminary than any comet before known. It passed in perihelion on December 18th, and, sweeping round a large arc, went back in a direction not very different from that from which it came. The observations have been calculated and the orbit investigated by many astronomers beginning with Newton ; but the results show no certain deviation from a parabolic orbit. Hence if the comet

ever returns, it is only at very long intervals. Halley, however, suspected with some plausibility that the period might be 575 years, from the fact that great comets had been recorded as appearing at that interval. The first of these appearances was in the month of September after Julius Cæsar was killed; the second in the year 531; the third in February 1106; while that of 1680 made the fourth. If, as seems not impossible these were four returns of one and the same comet, a fifth return, will be seen by our posterity about the year 2255." <sup>1</sup>

Gibbon, in his great work, has noted the appearance of this comet in the reign of Justinian, when it was the precursor of unparalleled calamities, plague, war and famine over the Roman Empire, and made the following interesting observations about its various other appearances, or apparitions as they are technically called, in his stately and measured manner. "In the fifth year of his reign, and in the month of September (531 A.D.), a comet was seen during twenty days in the western quarter of the heavens, and which shot its rays into the north. Eight years afterwards, while the sun was in Capricorn, another comet appeared to follow in the Sagittary; the size was gradually increasing; the head was in the east, the tail in the west, and it remained visible above forty days. The nations, who gazed in astonishment, expected wars and calamities from the baleful influence, and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled. The astronomers dissembled their ignorance of the nature of these blazing stars which they affected to represent as the floating meteors of the air; and few among them embraced the simple notion of Seneca and the Chaldaeans, that they are only planets of a longer period and more eccentric motion. Time and science have justified the conjectures and predictions of the Roman sage; the telescope has opened new worlds to the eyes of astronomers; and in the narrow space of history and fable, one and the same comet is already found to have revisited the earth in seven equal revolutions of 575 years. The *first* which ascends beyond the Christian era 1767 years, is coeval with Ogyges, the father of Grecian antiquity. And this appearance explains the tradition which Varro has preserved, that under his reign the planet Venus changed her colour, size

<sup>1</sup> *Popular Astronomy*, ed. 1878, pp. 374-5.

figure, and course : a prodigy without example either in past or succeeding ages. The *second* visit in the year 1193 is darkly implied in the fable of Electra, the seventh of the Pleiads, who have been reduced to six since the time of the Trojan War. That Nymph, the wife of Dardanus, was unable to support the rain of her country ; she abandoned the dances of her sister Orbs, fled from the Zodiac to the North Pole, and obtained from her dishevelled locks, the name of the *Comet*. The *third* period expires in the year 618, a date that exactly agrees with the tremendous comet of the Sibyll, and perhaps of Pliny, which arose in the west two generations before the reign of Cyrus. The *fourth* apparition forty-four years before the birth of Christ, is of all others the most splendid and important. After the death of Cæsar, a long-haired star was conspicuous to Rome and to the nations, during the games which were exhibited by the young Octavian in honour of Venus, and his uncle. The vulgar opinion that it conveyed to heaven the divine soul of the Dictator, was cherished and consecrated by the piety of a statesman ; while his secret superstition referred the comet to the glory of his own times. The *fifth* visit has already been ascribed to the fifth year of Justinian, which coincides with the year 531 of the Christian era. The *sixth* return in the year 1106 is recorded by the chronicles of Europe and China : and in the first fervour of the Crusades, the Christians and the Mahomedans might surmise, with equal reason, that it portended the destruction of the infidels. The *seventh* phenomenon of 1680 was presented to the eyes of an enlightened age. The philosophy of Bayle dispelled a prejudice which Milton's muse had so recently adorned, that the comet 'from its horrid hair, shakes pestilence and war.' Its road in the heavens was observed with exquisite skill by Flamstead and Cassini ; and the mathematical science of Bernouilli, Newton, and Halley investigated the laws of its revolutions. At the *eighth* period in the year 2255, their calculations may, perhaps, be verified by the astronomers of some future capital in the Siberian or American wilderness." <sup>1</sup>

Thus the comet of 1680 was probably that which visited the earth at the time of the death of Julius Cæsar, 44 B.C. ! ;

<sup>1</sup> *Decline and Fall*, ed., Bury, 1898, Vol. IV. pp. 432-4.

and the mind loves to dwell on this singular coincidence. It is surely extremely interesting to see the two great men, Cæsar and Shivaji, the greatest men of their respective nations, thus united in their deaths by this awful link in the heavens. We are not permitted by science to connect earthly events with the strange appearance of comets in the heavens in a causal relation. But it is surely an extremely interesting coincidence that the same comet in the course of his very rare visits to the earth, should have selected the years of the disappearance of these two great men from the earthly scene. "It is conceded," says the late Dean Farrar in connection with a similar phenomenon in the heavens, on a far more awe-inspiring occasion, the birth of Christ, "by many wise and candid observers, even by the great Niebuhr, <sup>1</sup> the last man in the world, to be carried away by credulity or superstition, that great catastrophes and unusual phenomena in nature have as a matter of fact—however we may choose to interpret such a fact—synchronised in a remarkable manner with great events in human history" <sup>2</sup> We may then surely prefer to err with such a dispassionate authority as Niebuhr, such an iconoclast among historians, and be even open to the charge of credulity and superstition and dwell a little longer on this particular remarkable synchronism of the comet's visits with two great events in human history. The death of Cæsar was an event similar to the death of Shivaji, in its effects on Roman history. Both marked the close of brilliant careers. Both Cæsar and Shivaji destroyed the mighty powers that existed, and both built other powers destined to take their place. Cæsar destroyed the Roman Republic which was so potent for good as well as evil during many centuries; and his death led to the establishment of the mighty Roman Empire, fraught with such awful destinies for the world as then known. Shivaji dealt a mortal blow and led to the destruction of the Moghul Empire, which, for more than a century, had been omnipotent in India; and his death led to the transition period of Mahratha rule, a period necessary for the final triumph of the English in India, during which the country was saved from anarchy by the

<sup>1</sup> History of Rome, Vol. II., 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Christ* Vol. I., p. 35.



worthy successors of Shivaji, the great early Peishwas. The two periods were those of vast transition, the world passing away from its old masters, and old creeds and ideals to new ; in the one case Paganism was giving way to Christianity, perhaps the most awe-inspiring change in all the world's history, in the other Islam was slowly but surely and steadily yielding its former supremacy in India, never to regain it again, making room for revived Hinduism and later on for a Christian power. Surely these were epochs which were worthy of being marked by extraordinary phenomena in nature, and they were, we may fancy, marked by such, among others, by the visits of a comet which comes but once in six centuries, and which has the longest period of all. To say this is not superstition. It is to acknowledge the profound wisdom of Providence which moulds human history on earth in a way which, in spite of our knowledge, is yet mysterious, and which also guides the course of those strange orbs in the heavens.

This synchronism of the famous comet with Cæsar's and Shivaji's death is not noted by any writer. Should this paper draw the attention of some to the interesting subject, and elicit further views, its object would be gained. I know that some astronomers are of opinion that the comet that appeared at Cæsar's death is not identical with that of 1680, which appeared after Shivaji's death. "Halley's conjecture," says Mr. Chambers, "has since been shown to be unlikely."<sup>1</sup> And he calculates the period of the comet to be 8,814 years: "this, however, is subject to much uncertainty, inasmuch as the observations might possibly be satisfied by an 805 years' ellipse or even by a hyperbolic orbit," in which case the comet would never return, but appeared only once. As Professor Bury says in his note on Gibbon's passage quoted above, it may be that "the identity is merely an ingenious speculation of Halley. There is nothing in the data to suggest 575 years, nor have we material for comparison with the earlier comets which Halley proposed to identify."<sup>2</sup> The tendency of modern astronomic thought is to give the comet of 1680 the unusually long period of 8,813·9 years, or even to say that it is unique and without

<sup>1</sup> *Astronomy*, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Ed. of Gibbon*, Vol. IV, Appendix, p. 545.

a period. This does not much affect what we have said. On the contrary it accentuates it. The epoch when Shivaji died appears to be of such high importance as to be marked by a most brilliant comet which never before in recorded history had visited the earth and never will visit it for several thousand years to come. It is interesting to note that if a prodigious comet marked the exit of Shivaji, another famous comet heralded the birth of Napoleon in 1769. "It was called after that great man who looked upon it as his protecting *genie*, and whose belief in it is well known." "It was visible to the naked eye with a tail from  $60^{\circ}$  to  $80^{\circ}$  long. Bessel assigns 2,090 years as the most likely period. He has shown that an error of 5 seconds either may increase the period to 2,673 years or diminish it to 1,692 years." <sup>1</sup> Napoleon's death was not allowed to pass by without another comet being seen. It was, however, a very small one, having a tail of  $2\frac{1}{2}''$  length. It shone a few weeks before and after his death in May 1821. "The Heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes." <sup>2</sup>

R. P. KARKARIA.

<sup>1</sup> Chambers' *Astronomy*, ed. Oxford, 1877, p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> *Shaks. Julius Caesar II. ii.* 31.

## Art. II.—THE CRIMINAL CLASSES OF THE BELLARY ' DISTRICT.

THE Bellary District is one of the westernmost of the Deccan districts of this Presidency and is peculiarly situated, bordering on the Nizam's Dominions, the Bombay Presidency and on the Mysore Provinces. This peculiarity of situation has made Bellary—especially the corner taluks bordering on other States—the safe home of several criminal tribes.

The *Dongadāsaris* live at Sangenhalli 14 miles south-east of Harpanāhalli, the *Lambadis* at Sandur, and the *Korachas* at Rudrapadam, near Siruguppa.

As none of these castes have been critically examined till now, we propose to give all the available information about them, to the best of our researches.

*The Dongadāsaris.*—*Dāsari* is a Dravidian form of the word "*Dāsa*" in Sanskrit which means "servant." *Dāsari* in Kanarese, Telugu, and other languages means a servant of God. It is an institution peculiar to all non-Brahman castes and is of Vaishnavite origin. Any member of a non-Brahman caste who wants to devote his whole life to the service of God, has only to go to a Vishnu temple, get himself branded with the *chauk* and *chakra*, the conch and the discus, and to attach himself to the temple. He attends to the temple service, lives upon the charity that he collects in the temple and when he is specially religious becomes a *pājāri* or priest also. When once he becomes a *Dāsari* he succeeds to the privilege of begging his food and when he starts on such an expedition, his castemen are bound to feed him. In addition to all these he is invited specially for the general feeding on festive or religious occasions and is

fed first, as such a feeding is considered to add to the meritoriousness of the person who gives him food. The *Dāsari* thus leads an easy life with his convenience secured by a religious guarantee from the hands of others. These *Dāsaris* are called *Gudidāsari* as the *gudi* or the temple is their home, and are a set of quiet, innocent and simple people leading a most idle and stupid life.

Quite opposed to the *Gudidāsaris* in every way are the *Dongadāsaris* or the thieving *Dāsaris*, *Donga* in Telugu and Kanarese meaning a thief. They are the most dreaded of the criminal classes in the Bellary District. There are about forty houses of this class in Harpanahalli and Hadagalli taluks. But it is very difficult to find the male members as they are always absent from their houses on predatory expeditions, never returning to them for several months. These *Dongadāsaris* are supposed to have come from Nellore into Bellary in the famine of 1876. In the former district they were said to have lived as peaceful inhabitants attending to agriculture and on their migration to the Bellary District, they had to take to thieving as their profession, finding no agricultural vocations to engage them. Thus they became the most detested and the most dreaded. No caste would accept them and when their number was diminishing, they became desperate and began to take in all people from other castes. In the early years of their settlement in Bellary, these *Dongadāsaris* were said to have practised kidnapping boys and girls of other castes to strengthen their number, and even now as the practice stands, any person can become a *Dongadāsari*, though very few would like to become one. But for all that, the chief castes who furnished members to this brotherhood of robbery were the scums of the *Lingayats* and the *Kabberas*. Of course none of the respectable from these castes would join them and only those who were excommunicated found a ready home among these *Dongadāsaris*. As observed already, any person can obtain ready admittance, and sometimes Muhammadan *budmashes* and the worst characters from other castes also become *Dongadāsaris*. The way an alien is made a *Dongadāsari* is as follows:—The regular *Dongadāsaris* take the party who wants to enter their brotherhood to the side of a river

make him bathe in oil, give him a new cloth, hold a council of *Dongadāsaris* and give a feast. They burn a twig of the Sami (*Prosopis spicigera*) or Margosa tree and slightly burn the tongue of the party who has joined them to make him a *Dongadāsari*. This is their way of purification and acceptance of every new member who, soon after the tongue burning ceremony, is given a seat in the general company and made to partake of the common feast. The *Dongadāsaris* talk both Telugu and Kanarese. They have no *panchayats* or caste councils and they have no *Yajamans* or headmen. They have only two *bedagus* or family names called *Sanna-akki* (thin rice) and *Ghantelavaru* (men of the bell). As the latter name is also a family name among the *Kabberas*, it is an evidence that members of the latter community have joined in large numbers the *Dongadāsaris*. Even now *Dongadāsaris* intermarry with *Kabberas*, i.e., they accept any girl from a *Kabbera* family in marriage to one of their sons, but do not give one of their daughters in marriage to a *Kabbera* boy. Hanuman is their chief god. Venkatesa, an incarnation of Vishnu, is also worshipped by many. But in every one of their villages they have a temple dedicated to their village goddess Huligavva or Ellamma, and it is only before these goddesses that they sacrifice sheep or fowls. They never practice animal sacrifice when worshipping Hanuman or Venkatesa. They have no caste festivals, but once in four or five years they all join together and celebrate a feast called Huligavva feast on which occasion they sacrifice sheep and fowls on a large scale. Vows are undertaken for these village goddesses when children fall ill. In addition to this, these *Dongadāsaris* are notorious for their peculiarity in taking vows before starting on a thieving expedition and the way these ceremonies are gone through is as follows:—The gang before starting on a thieving expedition proceed to a jungle near their village in the early part of the night, worship their favourite goddess Huligavva or Ellamma and sacrifice a sheep or fowl before her. They place one of their turbans on the head of the sheep or fowl that was sacrificed as soon as the head falls on the ground. If the turban turns to the right it is considered a good sign, the goddess having permitted them to proceed on the

expedition. If to the left they return home that night. Hanuman is also consulted in such expeditions and the way in which it is done is as follows:—They go to a Hanuman's temple which is near their village and after worshipping him, garland him with a hanging wreath of flowers. The garland hangs on both sides of the neck almost parallel to the hands. If any of the flowers on the right side drop down first, it is considered as a permission granted by the god Hanuman to start on plundering expeditions, and conversely these expeditions are never undertaken if any flowers happen to drop down from the left side first. The *Dongadāsaris* start on their thieving raids with their whole family—wife and children following. These are great experts in house-breaking and theft, and children are taught thieving by their mothers when they are five or six years old and the way it is done is peculiar. She takes her boy or girl to the nearest market and shows the child some cloth or vessel in that place and she asks the child to bring it away and when it fails it is thrashed and thrashed; and when strokes upon strokes fall upon its back the only reply it is taught to give is that it knows nothing. This is considered to be the reply which the child, when it grows up to be a man or woman, has to give to the police authorities when it is caught in some crime and thrashed by them to confess the same.

The marriage system among the *Dongadāsaris* is, as it prevails among other castes in the Bellary district. A branch of the Indian coral tree (*Erythrina indica*) called in Kanarese *Hāluvāna*, and in Tamil *Mul-murukkai* is planted as the marriage pole in the house in which it is to take place. The technical name of this pole is Halukamba or milkpole. On the wedding day new pots are arranged in a square near this pole and a square is formed by threads being passed over them. Within this square the pair chosen to be married sit together, dressed in new clothes; *kankana* or the auspicious thread of cotton is tied to their wrists and *Tāli* or marriage badge is tied to the bride's neck and a feast ends the marriage. As stated already, the *Dongadāsaris* accept girls from the Kabberas and the Lingayats for marriages in a regular form, but they are even ready to accept men and women of any caste who are prepared to join

them. One Dāsari marries sometimes many wives, three, four or five, but the Dāsari woman is not supposed to marry more than one man. As must be expected from their way of living, where men are sometimes absent from home for several months, the *Dongadāsari* woman is very loose, but if she goes astray with a Brahman, Lingayat, Kabbera, Kuruba, Epparava or Rajaput, her tongue is burnt and she is taken back into the community. Widow marriage freely prevails among them. When a Dongadāsari dies, he is either burnt or buried according to convenience. They have no hard-and-fast rules to observe, one in preference to the other. But when death takes place in a family, the agnatic kindred or the *āyādis* of that family do not enter the temple for a month, at the end of which a ceremony is performed; after that they can freely enter temples. They avoid eating beef and pork, but have no objection to other kinds of flesh. These *Dongadāsaris* are only Dāsaris in name. They have neither branding nor temple service nor particular caste marks for their forehead. They are considered to be great experts in speaking several languages and in changing their dress and names. They are said to be notorious in carrying a very small short knife cleverly concealed about their person. Whenever they are caught by the Police they give false names and false castes. They have a cipher language among them and a few specimens which were gathered with a good deal of difficulty are as follows:—

*Bantija*—The Police are coming, take care.

*Mantra*—Come, let us have our drink.

*Kempu*—If you go to that side, you will get gold.

*The Korachas*.—Rudrapuram in Bellary Taluk, Siruguppa Division and Sivapuram in the Kudligi Taluk are the two great centres for this notorious criminal caste, but one going to these places would be sorely disappointed at not finding any men there, for every one of these notorious criminals is under police surveillance and find a place in the K. D. gang register. Only old women and children he would find in the villages and to whatever questions he may ask, the uniform reply is that they know nothing. But how then to get over the difficulty? How to teach our subjects for conducting our examination?

The best place is the District Jail, Bellary, and several Korachalifers are always to be found in that place. Through the assistance of the Jail authorities the researches have to be very carefully made and verified at other places.

There are eight divisions among the Korachas—(1) Uru Koracha, (2) Uppu Koracha, (3) Vypari Koracha, (4) Edu Koracha, (5) Tadu Koracha—classes two to five are all supposed to be traders—salt, petty trading, cattle, ropes and swings being their professed petty trade and thieving being the ultimate motive. Edu Korachas lift cattle in Mysore and other provinces and sell them anywhere pretending to be cattle traders.

(6.) Kuntzu Korachas make brushes and trade in them.

(7.) Koti Korachas carry monkeys and beg with them.

(8.) Dubba Korachas make baskets, mats, etc., and trade in them.

Of the eight classes the Uru Koracha does not inter-dine with others for he says that others eat pork which he avoids. To a certain extent it must be said that the Uru Korachas are village Korachas, who have during the last fifteen years settled down as agriculturists in a settlement of their own in a corner of Harpanahalli and are living in huts made of bamboos. As far as marriage is concerned all these eight Korachas stand apart, intermarriages being prohibited. All the eight divisions have four *gotras* or *bedugus* called *sātpādi*, *kāvadi* and *manēpadi* and *menaragutti*, the meanings of which are not known. Next to the Uru Koracha, the Kote Korachas are said to be less addicted to criminal practices and all the other six subdivisions may be said to be the worst criminals in dacoity and cattle-lifting. Early marriage of girls is not known, the practice being adult marriage. Their marriage rite is only for a day. They do not engage any Brahman and they have no *Tali* tying ceremony. But they put on the arms of the girl bronze bangles five on the right wrist and four on the left, making a total of nine. A feast is given to all castemen and the marriage rites are completed. Drinking is the peculiar vice which distinguishes their marriage occasions. One peculiarity of their marriage is the absence of tomtoms and pipes. As soon as the



marriage is celebrated, the son leaves the parent's roof and establishes himself separately in a hut with his wife, the father giving him 'as his legacy whatever he can spare, there being no hard-and-fast rules. Besides the girl, money or *teravu* prevails among the Korachas and the amount fixed is Rs. 202-0-3. But this sum is not paid up all at once but by instalments of a pagoda or two per year. When the last quarter anna payment is made the *teravu* is considered to be closed. Widow marriage also prevails, Rs. 24 being the *teravu* or fee for the widowed woman, but a widowed woman can remarry only once and not more. The women of the Kuntzu Koracha sect practice fortune telling to every one who resort to them and especially to the *Malas* and the *Madigas*. A winnow is brought and rice—half a seer—is spread over it and the woman scribbles some lines over the rice and taking hold of the palm of the party who has come to consult her (right palm for men and left for women) tells his or her fortune. Of course the rice and the little fee becomes the property of the soothsaying woman. Venkatesa is the chief god of the Uru Korachas and Sunkalamma, the goddess of drink, the favourite goddess of all the others. They also worship Mariyamma by making mud cones in representation of her. The system of mortgaging wives to secure loans which is said to obtain among low castes is not prevalent among Korachas, but daughters are mortgaged and money taken on their security from the Korachas and not from other castes. These are always unmarried girls and they are free for the marriage only when the debt is cleared up. But to the credit of the Koracha community it must be said that the girl continues to live under the parent's roof. The Korachas have their Yajamans or caste heads—the person chosen for this function is always selected for his intelligence and power to command. All castemen of each village where Korachas live, join together and select a person well-versed in matters of caste and nominate him as their Yajamana. If one Yajamana dies, and if his son satisfies all the qualifications he is chosen in his place, if not a new man is selected. So the post is not hereditary. The title of this Yajamana is Mukhi—a contraction of *Mukhyasta* the chief man. If any Government servant visit

the Koracha camp, it is always this Yajamana who receives and talks with him. These Korachas have a vow-taking ceremony before starting on a predatory expedition like the Dongadâsarîs and they always resort to a Hanuman's temple. The Korachas are first-class horsemen, and criminal gangs in Kudligi are reputed to ride 60 miles in the course of a night after committing dacoity. They always delight in torch light robberies. They come in a gang and after their plundering is over, they disperse in different directions, fixing a rendezvous. The Korachas talk Telugu and Kanarese with others, but among themselves they talk what is called a Koracha language which is very much allied to Tamil. This will be seen from the few examples given below :—

"Have you had your food"? *Kali tendriya*. "Have you children or not"? *Chinna ikkida illa*. "I went to the field," *Kollaikku poy vande*. Have you a wife"? *Pondu ikkida niku*. Did not the crow crow in your house? *Kakun bidu arisa ille*. *Madu*—cow. *Kudura*—horse.

Though their language is so much allied to Tamil they are not able to understand the Tamil spoken by a Tamilian. The Korachas do not dedicate any of their women as Basvis, but many of their fair girls are purchased and adopted by the Nayakânis of Bellary, a sisterhood of prostitutes to continue their profession after their death. The criminal Korachas do not live in fixed houses, but wander about in Bidaris or removable huts.

*The Lambadis*.—The third and most interesting criminal class are the Lambadis. Their mythological origin and their grave crimes have been described by Mr. F. S. Mullaly in his Notes on Criminal classes, so that anything said on these heads would be only repeating what he had said. But the Lambadis dwelt upon by Mr. Mullaly differ in many respects from those of the Bellary District so that whatever is said here will be adding to the interesting information given by Mr. Mullaly. They are also called Brinjaris and this word is derived from the Sanskrit word *Vanij* or *Banij* meaning a trader. In almost all the accounts of the East India Company they are mentioned as dealers in grain and salt, moving about

in numerous parties with cattle and carrying their goods to different markets, and in the days of the Deccan wars were of the greatest resource to the commissariat as they always followed the armies with supplies for sale. They have a tradition among them of having first come to the Deccan from the north with Moghul camps as commissariat carriers. Captain J. Briggs in writing about them in 1813 states that as the Deccan is devoid of a single navigable river and has no roads that admit of wheeled traffic, the whole of the extensive intercourse is carried on by laden bullocks, the property of that class of people known as *Brinjaris*. The Lambadis of Bellary belong to three different families called *Angotti*, *Mud* and *Rāmdvat*. Members of the same sect do not intermarry. Both the systems of marriages, child as well as adult, are prevalent among them. Mr. Francis in the Gazetteer of the Bellary District has given such a good account of a Lambadi marriage that it is not necessary to dwell upon the same here. The original profession of the Lambadi was trading in cattle, grains, salt, etc., and making saddles. They were once very rich, but owing to the introduction of the railway, their trade has suffered much. They have always been notorious thieves and dacoits living outside general habitations in detached settlements called *tandas*. Each *tanda* has a headman called the *Nayaka*, whose word is law and whose office is hereditary. Each settlement has also a priest whose office also is hereditary. Their language which is called *Landa* is said to be connected with *Mahratti*. Great care has been taken in the following tables to compare the Lambadi words with *Guzarati* and *Mahratti* and more than four-fifths correspond exactly with *Guzarati* words. The declensional endings of nouns and conjugational terminations of verbs, the names of the most common domestic and wild animals, the designations for expressing all kinds of nearest relationship are the same in both these languages. The *Guzarati* and *Mahratti* scholars who helped the writer in this direction have, between themselves, given as their opinion that the Lambadi language is distinctly *Guzarati* and not *Mahratti*. The marriage ditty quoted by Mr. Francis is found word for word in the *Guzarati* songs also. These several reasons would make one infer that the Lambadis must have originally come down to the south

from Guzarat. The tables attached below will speak for themselves :—

ENGLISH.	LAMBADI.	GUZARATI.	MAHRATTI.
Grandfather.	Dādâ.	Dādâ.	Âzâ.
Grandmother.	Dâdi.	Dâdi (or). Vadi Âyi.	Âji.
Bazar.	Dokân.	Dukân.	Dukân.
Ghi.	Ghi.	Ghi.	Tûpa.
Rice.	Isâval.	Chôkha.	Tândul.
Cloth.	Dhôtî.	Dhôtî.	Dhotar.
Trowsers.	Jhânghiya.	Jhôngo.	Pâijâma.
Shirt.	Jhagala.	Jhabalu.	Dagalâ.
Turban.	Pagdî.	Pagdî.	Pagadi.
Rain.	Ôrs.	Varsât.	Pâvus.
Lightning.	Vigili.	Vijali.	Viza.
River.	Nandi.	Nadi.	Nadi.
Tree.	Zsâd.	Zsâdo.	Ztsâd.
Margosa tree.	Limbêvar zsâd.	Limdano zsâd.	Nimbache ztsâd.
(I) go.	Jâvuchu.	Jâvuchu.	Tjâtôn.
(He) comes.	Âvatche.	Avêche.	Yetô.
(They) go.	Jâtche.	Jâiche.	Jâtata.
I (eat).	Khâvatchu.	Khâdu.	Khatôn.
He (eats).	Khârôche.	Khâyiche.	Khâto.
Eat them (Imperative).	Khô.	Khân.	Khâ.
I	Mai.	Hûñ.	Mazhe.
Mine.	Mâro.	Mâro.	Mazha.
You.	Tûñ.	Tûñ.	Tû.
Yours.	Târo.	Târo.	Tujhe.
He.	Û.	Yeno.	To.
His.	Ôrô.	Yeno.	Tyachin.

ENGLISH.	LAMBADI.	GUJARATI.	MAHRATTI.
I go to my house. This pillar is not good. The roof is good. The rafters are bent. The cow eats the grass. The sheep eats the leaf. The buffalo gives milk. I eat food. My father died. My mother is alive. My son is four years old.	Mai ghar jávuchu. Í khamb ballá. Ádiya atso che. Vámsá vâlô che. Gánni khad khát che. Chhêli pálo khát che. Mahsi dūd dāt che. Mai bhāt khávu chu. Mávô báp margô. Mavi yádi jivat che. Mávô betáne char var- she umba.	Hũ ghar jávuchu. A thamlo sáro na thí. Mālana sáro che. Vánsá vánkô che. Gáyí tsáv kháyí che. Gheta pándalá khayí che. Mehs dūd dē che. Hũ bhāt khávn chu. Mávô báp mari gayô. Mári má jive che. Márô chokro châr var- no.	Mí Gharála Jsátôn. Há khambha bara nahi. Chávani bari áhê. Velu vâkdi Áhêt. Gáyí gavvâ khátát. Sheli pálá khátê. Mahis dūd dēte. Mí bhāt Khátôn. Mazá báp mēlá. Mazi áyi tsagalá áhê. Mázá mûlga char var- shatza.
There was heavy rain yesterday. To-morrow the river will be in freshes. My cloth is new. Your cloth is old. In that house there are many men.	Kál ghano Ôrs pado. Kál nandi bharaingí. Márô dhótí navvat che. Tânô dhólí juno che. Ô gharé ma ghaná ádmí che.	Kále ghano varsát padyo or varsho. Kale nadi bharañ. Máro dōtyu navvu che. Táro dotiyu juno che. E Gharmó G h a n o Mánas che.	Kál motha pávus hôte. Udya nadíla pûr yeyil. Mazá vastra navína áhê. Tuzá vartrá phar jivna jsala. Tya ghari phar loga apet.

## Art. III.—ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

### A YEAR'S RECORD<sup>1</sup>

“THE history of religion,” wrote Dr. Hunter, “is, in India the history of the people. \* \* \* \* Dynastic revolutions and religious reformations have for centuries gone hand in hand. Buddhism and Hinduism, the Muhammadans and the Sikhs, represent a conflict of creeds not less than a struggle of races.”<sup>2</sup> And the history of religion in India is the attempted supersession and suppression of one creed by another,—the devastation and desecration of the temples of the followers of the dishonoured faith by successful followers of the dominant creed.

Speaking of the rarity of ancient monuments in India, Grunwedel remarked: “Stress must be laid on the fact that in comparison with the vast extent of the country, the monuments are far from numerous, that great numbers of them have been destroyed through the indolence or by the sheer vandalism of men of other faiths, so that considerable monumental groups, in good preservation, remain only where the districts subsequently became deserted and the monuments consequently were forgotten, and so saved from direct destruction at the hand of man; or where, as happened in Ceylon, the old religion remained and protected the monuments of olden times.”<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Mitra was unreasonably hard on the Muhammadans when he spoke only of their iconoclastic zeal. “Moslem fanaticism, which, after repeated incursions; reigned supreme in India for six hundred years, devastating everything Hindu, and converting every available temple, or its materials, into a masjid, or a palace, or a heap of ruins, was alone sufficient to sweep away everything in the way of sacred buildings.”<sup>4</sup> And here we must mention the fact that in ancient India the skill of the artist displayed itself on temples rather than in palaces.

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<sup>1</sup> Annual Report—1902-3.

<sup>2</sup> Hunter—*Orissa*.

<sup>3</sup> Grunwedel—*Buddhist Art in India*.

<sup>4</sup> Rājendrak Lāla—*Orissa*.

What is true of Moslem fanaticism is equally true of the work of followers of other creeds. Towering temples of the Hindus had been built with the reliques of Buddhist *viharas*, to be in turn torn down to supply materials for the building of Moslem mosques.

Coming next to, what Mr. Lane-Poole calls, mediæval India we find the caprice of kings responsible for the damage and destruction of many monuments. Round the royal palaces have grown up towns adorned with the residences of *amirs and omrahs*, bazaars and serais. Then capitals have been changed. Delhi, Agra and Lahore in turn received the attention of the Moghul emperors of Hindustan. While nothing sadder or more beautiful exists in India than Fatehpur Sikri "the silent witness of a vanished dream."<sup>1</sup> That even before the Moghuls, rulers in India had marched to immortality over their predecessors' graves will be evident from the following: "The present Moghul city of Delhi, which should properly be known as Shahjahanabad, is the most northern and most modern of a number of capitals and fortresses constructed \* \* \* between 700 and 1550 of the Christian era, from the Lal Kila of Rai Pithora at the Kutub Minar eleven miles south-west of Shahjahanabad to the Jahannuma Palace and quarter, built by Firoz Shah Tughlak on the ridge, slightly in advance of the Moghul capital."<sup>2</sup> Indian rulers have not hesitated to remove to "fresh fields and pastures new" leaving old towns to—what Lord Curzon describes as—"the combined ravages of a tropical climate, an exuberant flora, and very often a local and ignorant population, who see only in an ancient building the means of inexpensively raising a modern one for their own convenience."<sup>3</sup>

How true this assertion is will be seen from a perusal of the work before us. In Dr. Bloch's report we read that to preserve the remaining portion of the inscription in the Hâthi-gumphâ in Orissa "a shade or verandah has been erected in front of it, to keep off the glare of the sun and the torrents of the monsoon—evidently the most destructive factors."

<sup>1</sup> Lane-Poole—*Mediæval India*.

<sup>2</sup> Fanshawe—*Delhi—Past and Present*.

<sup>3</sup> Speech on Ancient Indian Building.

Speaking of the ancient capital of the Ahom kings at Ghurgaon (Assam) Mr. Marshall remarks: "Time and the elements have almost entirely obliterated it, and the single notable sign post of its existence is a fine three storied building, which, however, is so overgrown with jungle as to recall to the imagination the nursery story of the Sleeping Beauty. And here it seems worth remarking that the exuberance of wild vegetation in India is such that the fabled magical envelopment of the Sleeping Beauty's palace in a tangled mass of impenetrable forest is a phenomenon that in real life confronts the Archæological Department again and again. One of the most persistent and insidious enemies the archæological conservator has to fight is the jungle." Gaur, we read, "was famous for its glazed tiles, but unfortunately these formed a much-coveted spoil for vandals, who, in the early days of the Company's rule, wantonly destroyed many a fine building solely for the sake of the tiles." "History," remarks Dr. Bloch, "in this respect has repeated itself. In order to erect mosques and tombs the Muhammadans pulled down all the Hindu temples they could lay hands upon for the sake of the building materials. And again, when their time was over and their capitals were deserted, the monuments which they had left were again demolished and the stones and bricks used for common purposes."

In the early days of John Company the English were busy extending the boundaries and strengthening the foundations of the new empire, and paid but little attention to the preservation of the ancient monuments of the country. And it was not in a day that the traditions could be shaken off. According to Grant "the *nizamut daftar* received an annual payment of Rs. 8,000 from two local zamindars for allowing them the exclusive right to demolish the venerable ruins at Gaur, in order to carry away the highly prized enamelled tiles and the so-called Gaur marbles." Though Lord Canning invested archæological work in India with permanent Government patronage by constituting, in 1860, the Archæological Survey of Northern India, "in 1870, when Lord Mayo held a Durbar at Ajmir, and when the scheme for the establishment of the

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<sup>1</sup> These tiles have "a marked Hindu character", *vide* Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*.



present Mayo College was publicly announced, a triumphal arch composed of pillars brought from the mosque<sup>1</sup> was erected under which the Viceroy and the principal Chiefs of Rajputana passed in procession."

But the Government has warmed to its task, and—to reverse Lord Curzon's assertion—the æsthetic now dominates the barbarian in the official mind. Spasmodic efforts have given place to systematic work of renovation and preservation. A new era has dawned for archæological work in India. Lord Curzon has earned the gratitude of all Indians by his earnest efforts to preserve the ancient monuments of the country. "We have a duty"—the vicegerent of the emperor has declared—"to our forerunners as well to our contemporaries and to our descendants—nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recognition of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own times—if, indeed, any are worthy of such—unless we have ourselves shown a like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors." <sup>2</sup> "Instead of destruction"—as Mr. Marshall, the Director-General of Archæology puts it—"we have now reconstruction." The re-organised Department now takes in hand no haphazard operations—due to the promptings of a pious but passing impulse—hastily undertaken or hastily conceived.

During the year under review many ancient buildings have been restored exactly to their original condition. And to the spectator viewing them now they appear almost as they did when they emerged from the hands of the architect in their pristine beauty. That the Government have not grudged money for the repairs will be evident from the statements that the Mandalay Palace has been and is being repaired at a cost of

<sup>1</sup> Arhai-din-ka Jhompra Mosque—described by Cunningham as "the finest and largest specimen of the early Muhammadan mosque that now exists"—*Vid* Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Speech on Ancient Indian Buildings.

Rs. 72,248, and that the total expenditure incurred at Kanarak up to the end of the financial year 1902-03 was Rs. 27,033— a sum not unworthy for the repairs of a temple whose cost “ was defrayed by twelve years’ revenue of the province.”<sup>1</sup>

The publication of the present report marks a new departure in the history of such publications. Brilliant works on Indian archæology—the results of deep study and patient assimilation of the work of generations—had been published in the past. “ The publication of each report was usually delayed until enough material had been accumulated and studied to enable a complete monograph to be published, that should be fit to stand as the final word on the subject for the next generation.” From 1874 to 1902 thirty-two miscellaneous volumes of the *Imperial Series* saw the light without any semblance to periodicity ; sometimes one volume appeared in five years, sometimes five volumes came out in one year.

These publications, with their long periods of gestation, had a value as to scholarship, fulness and finality which the new “ Annual ” cannot and need not emulate. But because of their very finality these publications tended, to some extent at least, to stifle rather than to stimulate further research in the particular paths trodden by their authors. And those interested in Indian antiquity had long felt the want of an ever-fresh annual report promptly informing the public of what has been done during the year. The object of the present publication is to remedy this want. To quote the Director-General’s remarks :— “ Instead of silently accumulating during a long course of years the materials for some future volumes, and keeping these materials hidden, as it were, behind a hoarding until the finished structure can be disclosed, it is the intention to show year by year exactly what materials have been and are being collected, so that other labourers may know how they can add to the heap and, if possible, themselves build from it the ultimate edifice. In other words, it is the intention, by means of these progress reports, to show that the department, so far from looking to monopolise the field of research desires and facilitates the co-operation of every earnest student and learned society. More than this, it is the intention to attempt to do for India

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*.

something of what the volumes issued by the Egypt Exploration Fund during the last 20 years have done for the land of the Pharaohs—to attract wider and more abiding attention to India's grand treasure-house of historical relics. Even if active co-operation should not always be forthcoming, generous interest and sympathy at least, it is hoped, will periodically be excited, and the public led to view the work of the Department as something not outside the range of their concern." Let us hope this policy will act in the world of letters as the abolition of the monopolies did in the commercial world. Now it will be possible for scholars outside the Archæological Department to produce—with the materials thus placed at their disposal—works which up to now had been the monopoly of officers of the Department who kept the general public in the dark as regards the progress of the work of the Department till their finished and final works saw the light.

In the introduction to the first volume of the report of the Archæological Survey of India Cunningham gave a brief history of Archæological work in India from the foundation of the Asiatic Society in 1784 to the publication of the volume in 1871. Thirty-three years later Mr. Marshall begins his "Annual" with an introduction in which the reader will find a brief account of the Archæological Department "and of the transformation it has lately undergone." The two introductions are typical of the two books. Cunningham's Reports aimed to be finished, full and final, while the new Annual is designed to inform the world of the annual work of the Department and to place at the disposal of students all new information to be utilised by them. It may here be noted that in 1900 Lord Curzon, in his speech delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, gave a brief account of the Archæological Survey Department and of archæological work done in India by the British; and in a recent issue of the *Calcutta Review* we tried to bring this account up to date.<sup>1</sup> The history of the Department is at once instructive and interesting, and shows how in respect of the preservation of ancient monuments in India the present pious policy of the Government has been developed in spite of serious drawbacks and occasional neglect—if not downright opposition.

<sup>1</sup> January, 1905.

During the year under review the work of conservation has been carried on in Bombay, Central India, Bengal, Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Ajmir, Madras, and Burma. Those who have supervised the work have, in most cases, contributed accounts of the work done.

There are some people who set little value on conservation and aim, primarily, at research. But they are mistaken. We must not forget that "research is a work that can be taken up equally well by any qualified person or organisation, with or without official aid ; whereas conservation in these quick-moving times is a duty of urgency devolving upon the Government of the day with the certain knowledge that no future solicitude will be able to repair the consequences of past neglect." Research can wait while conservation—which would supply materials for research—cannot.

To explain the present policy of the Department about conservation, and in justification of it we quote below the remarks of the Director-General on the renovation of the Mandalay Palace :—" It may appropriately be mentioned here that local opinion does not unanimously endorse the conservation of the Mandalay Palace, and that the ground of disagreement usually urged is that the building, being of wood, is necessarily doomed to early decomposition. Compared with more solid and enduring memorials of stone, the Mandalay Palace, constructed entirely of wood, may indeed seem wanting in some of the elements of permanence. But permanence is relative, and, at any rate, the hope may be confidently entertained that the moderate scheme of conservation now in hand will preserve the palace intact for fully a hundred years. Is a century of extended existence too small an end to justify the effort ? When we remember that the palace is the one and only example of the ceremonial and domestic architecture of the Burmese kings ; that it embodies some of the finest examples of Burmese wood carving anywhere extant ; that since royal patronage passed away with Thibaw the glorious skill of the native decorator languishes for want of encouragement ; that under the uninspiring influence of Western utilitarianism, the Great Palace in Mandalay almost alone remains to keep alive the ideals of the depressed craftsmen ; and that the abandonment of this majestic landmark would

probably be the signal for a more rapid and hopeless decadence of the wood carver's craft in Upper Burma—when we think of all this, and when we hear the workmen of to-day acknowledge the inferiority of their handiwork compared with the masterpieces of King Mindon's and King Thibaw's times, can we say that the preservation of the Palace, if only for a hundred years more, is a thing of small account?"

In this "Annual" the reader will find instances of Western utilitarianism disfiguring ancient buildings of exquisite design and finish to serve modern purpose. Sidi Sayyad's Mosque at Ahmedâbâd had been converted into a treasury and record-room for the local Magistrate, the Mâmlatdâr of Daskrohi *tâlukâ*. To fit it for this purpose the whole front was walled up, modern doors and windows were inserted, cross walls and iron-barred partitions were added, the great perforated windows were walled up from behind, and two of the *mirhabs* were converted into presses. The space before the mosque was closed in with surrounding out-houses and shut off entirely from public view. The Mandalay Palace was being used as a club house, a Government office and a church. What it means to restore buildings thus disfigured to their original beauty will be understood by a perusal of Mr. Tucker's account of restoration work in Ajmir. In 1687 Shah Jehan erected five marble pavilions or pleasure houses and one *hammâm* or Turkish bath on the embankment of the *Âna-Sâgar*. The embankment and the grounds below known as the Daulat Bâgh, formed a favourite garden house of the Moghul Emperors when they visited Ajmir. On the British occupying the place in 1818 the embankment was selected as a site for the dwelling houses of the Commissioner of Ajmir, and his subordinate staff, and public houses also were erected on the embankment. The house of the Commissioner included two pavilions which were embedded in and concealed by the walls of the inner rooms. In another an office and a court room were erected. A fourth pavilion was converted into a station reading room and library, the spaces between the marble pillars being blocked in with masonry, while two masonry wings were added to the building. It was also used at one time as a municipal office. Another pavilion was built into another dwelling-house

An office was built on to the *hamdām*. In 1899 the rains failed and the lake became dry. The foundations of the Commissioner's house subsided and the house became uninhabitable. Another house too suffered in the same way. An opening was thus presented for the restoration of the entire embankment and the beautiful buildings on it; and a scheme was prepared—under Lord Curzon's direction and supervision—for the demolition and removal of the modern buildings, the preservation and re-erection of the original marble buildings contained in them and the restoration of the embankment, as far as possible, to what it was when the Moghul Emperor first beautified it. The scheme has been carried out. The pavilions in the Commissioner's house were found to be nearly intact. "Step by step," we read in the Report, "as the house was demolished, the marble work was carefully removed, the pillars, brackets and panels were numbered and re-erected *in situ* after the modern building material had been cleared away." The pictures in the "Annual" show how carefully and completely the work has been done. No wonder "the embankment is now largely visited by both Hindus and Muhammadans who appear to enjoy and to appreciate the transformation that has been effected."

Successive writers of this *Review* have striven to show the evil influence exerted on Indian art by the style persistently adhered to by the Public Works Department in its buildings and the adoption of this style "stamped with official approval" by the aristocracy and plutocracy of India whose vitiated taste makes them prefer the "horrors that have been perpetrated in the name of Architecture" by the Public Works Department to exquisite old buildings of the land. They have urged the adoption of indigenous styles, and the revival of old industries. "Not many years ago," wrote Mr. Havell in this *Review*,<sup>1</sup> "a number of important buildings were being erected in Calcutta, and for their external decoration terra-cotta to the value of a lac of rupees was obtained from England. This terra-cotta was not of exceptional artistic merit, to set an example to the Bengalee artisan, but the ordinary commercial ornament which is sold by the square yard by

<sup>1</sup> *Art Education in India.*

European manufacturers. Now Bengal is a great brick-making country, and there once existed a beautiful art in moulded brick-work, still to be seen in old buildings in many parts of the province. If a lac of rupees had been spent in reviving this decayed art public buildings in Calcutta would have had far better ornament and an old industry might have been revived."

In his remark on the renovation of the Mandalay Palace, quoted before, the Director-General has admitted that for want of encouragement the skill of the Indian artist is decaying and deteriorating. That it may still be found possible to revive that skill by encouraging and stimulating the hereditary powers of the Indian artist is apparent. Stones being rare brick was freely used in the buildings at Gaur, the mural ornaments which the mason would ordinarily have cut out of stone facings being imitated in the softer material of bricks and tiles, often with great skill. "As a rule," remarks Dr. Bloch, "these brick decorations were not moulded, but were actually cut out with a chisel, and workmen trained in this art are still to be had and have been employed in restoring the ruins at Gaur." Referring to the repairs at Bhubaneswar the same writer remarks: "Carvings, when broken and lost, were replaced by new ones with careful discretion, and the work of the modern stone-mason, native of Bhubaneswar, does not fall much behind the old work, except that modern restorations of human or animal figures are less graceful than their older models." Then we are told that Agra can boast of, perhaps, the greatest success that restoration has ever yet achieved in any part of India, and this is due, to a great extent, to "the exceptional skill of the local masons, which has enabled them to copy the original carvings with scrupulous fidelity." And again—"In the copying of the Moghul designs upon fresh slabs of stone, and in the careful fitting in of new patches, where bad fractures had occurred, in such a manner as to save every inch of the original that could be saved, the native sculptors displayed all the ingenuity and skilful mastery over material acquired by hereditary instinct." This reminds us of Mr. Griffiths' remarks in connection with the work at Ajanta: "Hindu, Parsi and Goanese students can still easily do the

work which was done centuries before, while English artists cannot.”<sup>1</sup>

The recovery from England and restoration to their original places of the mosaics which once adorned the throne of Shah Jehan in Dēwan-i-Amm at Delhi deserve mention. “The Throne was approached by the Emperor from the back by a doorway, pierced in a recess in the wall. The main feature in this recess was the mosaic work of marble and coloured stones with which its entire surface was adorned. The decoration is more particularly famous for the panels of the black marble, inlaid with a variety of coloured stones in designs of birds and flowers. These panels are the sole examples in India of this particular form of technique. The most justly famous among them is one representing the figure of Orpheus sitting under a tree and fiddling to a circle of listening animals. At the time of the Mutiny in 1857 a good many of these panels, which are quite small, were picked out and mutilated, twelve of them, including the representation of Orpheus, as well as four larger and seven smaller panels were appropriated by Captain (afterwards Sir John) Jones, and afterwards sold by him for £500 to the British Government, who deposited it in the South Kensington Museum.” On a strong appeal for their recovery made by the Government of India the trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum have returned them. The character of the panel designs is obviously Italian. The black marble of their backgrounds and the majority of the inlaid stones are Italian, and not Indian; and, remarks Mr. Marshall,—“it is not unreasonable to suppose that they are not only designed but actually executed in an Italian studio, and afterwards imported into this country.” Even after the replacing of the panels got from England there remain some gaps where panels are partly or wholly missing. “It will take some time,” wrote Mr. Marshall in the ‘Annual,’ “before the precise stones used can be identified and procured from Europe, and it will very probably be found necessary to get the panels executed

<sup>1</sup> *The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantā.*

“The patient Hindu handicraftsman’s dexterity is a second nature, developed from father to son working for generations at the same processes and manipulation.”  
—Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India.*



in Florence or to obtain artists from Italy to do the work in India. Since this was written the following intimation has appeared in the papers :—"Lord Curzon is adding one more to the gifts he has already bestowed upon India in aid of the preservation of its monuments. Some time ago, His Excellency recovered and had replaced in their original positions in the wall behind the throne of Dewan-i-Amm, Delhi, a few of the beautiful panels of coloured inlaid marble representing birds, flowers, fruits, and animals which he discovered in the South Kensington Museum in London. He is now bringing out from Florence, at his own expense, an Italian artist or mosaicist to restore the remaining panels which covered the whole of the wall behind the throne. There are about a hundred of these panels and the work will take about two years." We are all grateful to Lord Curzon for this act.

In more than one case it has been complained that renovated temples and mosques are being misused by people who do not and cannot appreciate their artistic value. After referring to the renovation of Sidi Sayyad's Mosque Mr. Cousens remarks : "But, alas with the permission of the Muhammadan community to use it under certain conditions, the building is likely to suffer at the hands of the worshippers unless a close watch is maintained. When I was at Ahmedâbâd, the first time after the restoration, they had stowed away the ugly bamboo framework of one of their great tabuts in one corner, and although I had it removed, it was again put back with, I was told, the permission of the Collector." But these worthy worshippers had never showed eagerness to undertake the work of renovation. And if they could curb their zeal when the Mâmlatdâr was in possession of the mosque they can easily be made to spare the building from injury resulting from misuse. They ought to take special care to preserve intact this glorious monument. The Government repair these buildings with public money not for the benefit of a community but in the interest of archæology ; and this fact should never be lost sight of. Dr. Bloch thus concludes his remarks on the Caves at Khandagiri : "As long as the caves continue to be occupied by modern yogis and sannyasis, who cook their meals in them, there is little chance of protecting their interior against

grime; yet an attempt to oust the intruders meets with no popular support, as even educated Hindus labour under the idea that structures of this kind can be claimed as of right as residences for ascetics, since that was their primitive use and object." Alas for education! *Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.* These ancient monuments should now be preserved as national treasures, and the world allowed their use. To misuse them would be sheer vandalism which should not be permitted. In this particular case the ownership of these caves has changed hands so often that it can afford to do so once more. But we are not without hope. That the light of the new dawn has penetrated and is penetrating into the strongholds of staunch conservatism will be apparent from the news published in the papers the other day—that the Jeer Swami of Tirukurungudi, an ancient and influential muth in the Tinnevely District, has presented to the Madras Museum a stone pillar from the precincts of his muth, containing inscriptions of Pandyan era in "Vatt Ezhuttu" characters. The stone is believed to be of great archæological interest, and the action of the Jeer Swami in surrendering it to so suitable a depository denotes a degree of enlightenment which invariably characterised the learned heads of religious houses in the country in the past.

With a word or two on the Bâgh Caves we will take leave of this portion of this fascinating work. These caves, we are told, are now falling in and are so ruined that it is now almost hopeless to do anything to them. "This is much to be regretted," remarks Mr. Marshall, "since they had upon their walls fresco paintings similar to those which make the Ajantâ caves so famous." The date of these caves cannot be ascertained with accuracy. But we are of opinion that they should be relegated to about A. D. 450 to 500. The paintings belonged, perhaps, to the sixth century A. D. Cave No. III was known as the "painted cave"—"from its having been covered with fresco paintings apparently quite as good as any at Ajantâ, but somewhat different in the subjects and arrangements."<sup>1</sup> The upper portions of the walls for about four feet were covered with intertwined vegetable patterns, while below were figures and

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson and Burgess.—*The Cave Temple of India.*

scenes, Buddhist Jātakas, etc. There was a verandah 220 feet long, and "the back wall of this was adorned with a series of very beautiful frescoes, rivalling in excellence those at Ajantā.<sup>16</sup> Processions on elephant and horseback, musical entertainments, and the like, formed the principal subjects, and the number of women considerably exceeded that of the men. The paintings had been very much injured when Fergusson and Burgess wrote their book—by the fall of much of the roof, as well as from natives having scribbled their names over the frescoes, and from decay. It is a pity that an attempt was not made earlier to preserve these frescoes from further destruction. The frescoes in the cave temples in the absence of other examples of painting form the only reliable source of information as to the high level of excellence reached in painting in ancient India. We are sorry, we seek in vain in the "Annual" for an account of what is now being done to preserve these precious frescoes for the benefit of future students.

Those who apprehend that the publication of these annual reports will tend to deteriorate scholarship will, on a perusal of the later portions of this "Annual," find their fears falsified. They will be agreeably surprised to find a mine rich in ore and suggestions to utilise it to the best advantage. The student will find in it not only materials ready for use, but also directions how to use them. And let us hope the production of scholarly books on Indian archæological subjects will be stimulated and not retarded by the accumulated materials being made easily accessible to students outside the Archæological Department.

It will not be possible—within the limited space at our disposal—to do the subjects dealt with full justice by an elaborate discussion. The heads of chapters contained in the "Annual" will, we hope, enable the reader to form an idea of the contents.

(1.) Exploration and Research—(A) General, (B) Pre-historic Antiquities in Tinnevely—(a) The prehistoric site at Aditanallur, (b) Contents of the Urns, (c) Objects in metal, (d) Gold Diadems, (e) Bronze Vase, Stands and Vessels, (f) Miscellaneous Bronze objects, (g) Iron Weapons and Implements.

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson and Burgess.—*The Cave Temple of India.*

(2.) Excavations at Chârsada in the Frontier Province (a) Historical and Geographical, (b) Bâlâ Hisâr, (c) Muhammadan remains on the Bâlâ Hisâr, (d) Minor Finds in the Bâlâ Hisâr, (e) Mir Ziyarat, (f) Palatu Dheri, (g) Ghaz Dheri, (h) Pottery from Chârsada.

(3.) Buddhist Gold Jewellery.

(4.) Ter-Tagara.

(5.) The Iron Pillar at Dhâr.

(6.) Tombs at Hissidan in Las Belâ.

(7.) Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and its Buildings.

(8.) Epigraphy—(A) General.

(B.) Ratlam Plates of Dhruvasena II.

(C.) Inscriptions of Chambâ State—(a) Inscriptions of Meruvarman, (b) Copper-plate Inscriptions, (c) Grant of Yagâkaravarman, (d) Grant of Vidagdha-deva, (e) Grant of Somavarma-deva, (f) Grant of Somavarma-deva and Âsata-deva, (g) Grant of Âsata-deva, (h) Conclusions—Geographical and Historical.

(D.) Armenian Inscriptions in Beluchistan.

(9) List of Archæological Reports published under official authority.

Readers of Dr. Stein's "Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan" must have noticed the value archæologists attach to manuscripts in the Kharoshthi character—transplanted from the extreme North-West of India. Dr. Stein found Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan and an unknown but manifestly non-Sanskrit language represented among the literary finds from the ruined temples of Endere, in the extreme east of the territory explored. "But," he remarked, "much older and of far greater importance than any of these finds are the hundreds of Kharoshthi documents on wood and leather from the ruined houses and rubbish-heaps of the ancient settlement discovered beyond the point where the Niya River now loses itself in the desert."<sup>1</sup>

Chârsada was placed first on the list of sites to be excavated in the Frontier Province because two inscriptions in Kharoshthi had been found there, and it was hoped that others might be recovered. "Our hopes," remarks the Director-General, "were not disappointed, for we obtained another

votive inscription cut on the stone pedestal of a statue, and three more written in ink on earthen-ware vessels, recording their presentation to a community of monks."

In his report on the Prehistoric Antiquity of Tinnévely, Mr. Rea remarks: "It used to be the custom to assign an immemorial antiquity to everything Indian, of which the date was unknown, and now perhaps the scale has turned too far in the opposite direction, for some will, without sufficient or perhaps any data, at once confidently state that the tombs (in Tinnevely) cannot be more than a few centuries old; while at the same time they will readily accept unquestioned a date of as many thousands of years before the Christian era for a Greek or Egyptian tomb or monument as devoid of actual evidences of date as these are."

The vexed question of Greek influence on Indian art has not yet been set at rest. "I do not suppose," wrote General Cunningham, "that building with stone was unknown to the Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion."<sup>1</sup> Rājendra Lāla strove to prove: "Whatever the origin or the age of ancient Indian architecture, looking to it as a whole it appears perfectly self-evolved, self-contained, and independent of extraneous admixture. It has its peculiar rules, its proportions, its particular features,—all bearing impress of a style that has grown from within,—a style which expresses in itself what the people, for whom, and by whom, it was designed, thought, and felt, and meant, and not what was supplied to them by aliens in creed, colour, and race."<sup>2</sup> Fergusson admitted that Indian architecture had throughout remained "a purely indigenous art, without any trace of Egyptian or of classic art"—"nor can it be affirmed that it borrowed anything directly from Babylonia or Assyria."<sup>3</sup> "In no instance," he said, "did the Indians adopt the architectural designs of the contemporary nations."<sup>4</sup> But he had suggested that it was not till they came in contact with the Greeks and other nations using stone, that they thought of employing stone, for their architectural purposes. But afterwards he was constrained to say: "If any one likes

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. III.

<sup>2</sup> *Orissa*.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

<sup>4</sup> *Archæology in India*.

to argue that the Indians, from their habit of copying their wooden buildings in the rock, acquired a fondness for the more durable material, and a familiarity with its use, which induced them to employ it in their structural buildings also, I have very little to urge against the hypothesis. It seems incapable of proof or disproof."<sup>1</sup> So Rājendra Lāla had not written in vain.

But this point has now been settled. After much doubt, discussion and diffidence the author of the latest work on ancient India has accepted that Indian architecture owed nothing to Greece.<sup>2</sup> Still he holds that the plastic arts of India owe much to Hellenic influence. It is generally the case that during one period of artistic creation one art leads the rest and gives them their tone. To go to Europe: "In the thirteenth century it was Architecture; all other arts were her hand-maidens: in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Painting led. Even sculpture was then picturesque. The change from architectural sculpture to picturesque sculpture may be traced in many French cathedrals and is very interesting to follow."<sup>3</sup> In ancient India, architecture was never a frame for sculpture and painting; but sculpture and painting were architectural decorations. This naturally makes one think that architecture in India being indigenous these too were so, and not due to foreign influence. They do not betray those imperfections which generally characterise those hasty imitations which are not "true growth," but rise like "Jonah's gourd, up in one night, and due to sudden sun."

In a previous issue of this *Review* we had tried to prove that painting in ancient India was essentially indigenous.<sup>4</sup>

What is true of the art of painting is, we think, also true of the art of sculpture. We are aware that even Cunningham held that "the Indians in all probability derived the art of sculpture from the Greeks."<sup>5</sup> But we cannot share that opinion.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæology in India.*

<sup>2</sup> Vincent Smith—*Early History of India.*

<sup>3</sup> Conway—*Domain of Art.*

<sup>4</sup> The *Calcutta Review*, July, 1903. I had termed the paper "Painting in Ancient and Mediæval India." But since then scholars have, I find, agreed to call Mahomedan India—"Mediæval India"—relegating the periods preceding it to "Ancient India." In my paper I had not come beyond the 7th century A. D. I had followed the example of Mrs. Manning.

<sup>5</sup> *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III.*

That Cunningham was not certain that his assertion was true will be evident from the following remark: "It is a fact which receives fresh proofs every day that the art of sculpture, or certainly of good sculpture, appeared suddenly in India at the very time that the Greeks were masters of the Kabul Valley; that it retained its superiority during the period of the half Greek rule of the Indo-Scythians; and that it deteriorated more and more the further it receded from the Greek age, until its degradation culminated in the wooden inanities and bestial obscenities of the Brahminical temples."<sup>1</sup> It is possible, nay, probable, that good sculpture in India owed something to Greek example. When two nations possessing different civilisations meet each stamps its influence on the other in manners and customs, arts and industries. We are ready to admit that the fascinating art which grew up and flourished in Gāndhāra (the present Peshawar Valley) and other neighbouring tracts in the extreme North-West of India, during the centuries immediately preceding and following the commencement of the Christian era was fostered by "Hellenistic-Roman influences," and is justly called "Græco-Buddhist Art." Nothing serves to maintain the perennial spontaneity and purity of art as the inspiration which comes of the contemplation of the best examples of foreign art. No wonder the art of sculpture in India was much benefited by the contemplation of the best examples of Greek sculpture.

That India, in some cases, even borrowed from Greece is probable. The researches of James Prinsep have clearly demonstrated that some of the Hindu princes of the first century of the Christian era borrowed their numismatic devices from the Bactrian Greeks. They failed, however, to preserve the beauty of the original designs, and in a few centuries so entirely debased them as to render them irreconisable.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III.*

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar goes further and says: Originally we, Indians, learnt the art of coining from the Greeks who had occupied the Punjab and other parts of Upper India. But as soon as we lost touch with the foreigners our coins degenerated in point of artistic workmanship till at last we came to the Chatrapati coin—with only a letter—*chak* on it and characterised by a complete want of artistic skill. *Vide* Lecture at the Anniversary of the Fergusson College. We are sorry we cannot agree with this opinion. We have strong reasons to suppose that coins were in circulation in India long before the advent of the Greeks. Greek influence gave Indian coins beauty of design and a high finish not known before.

Some of the finds described in the "Annual" show unmistakable traces of Greek influence. Witness, for instance, the sculptures found in Chârsada (see plates XXV, XXVI, and XXVII).

Referring to the Kharoshthi inscriptions written in ink on earthenware vessels (spoken of before), the Director-General remarks: "The inscriptions on these vessels are of special interest, as the practice of inscribing pottery in this way with dedicatory records was peculiarly common in ancient Greece, but almost unknown, I believe, in India, and we should perhaps, be justified in seeing in them another trace of Hellenic influence."

Referring to the small collection of gold jewellery from the country of Gândhâra he remarks: "The extreme rarity of ancient gold work, whether Hindu or Buddhist, makes the recovery of these ornaments of exceptional value, and it is instructive, in view of what has been written about the origin of Gândhâra art, to observe the Semi-Eastern, Semi-Western character of their style and technique, and the close connection which exists between them and certain articles of jewellery belonging to the pre-Christian era from Western Asia."

In ancient India gold work was not at all rare. Turning to ancient Indian literature we find examples of the use of gold ornaments and utensils galore. In the present work Mr. Marshall himself has, in another place, spoken of "the abundance of gold for which India has at all times been famous, and the inordinate fondness shown by natives of the country for personal ornaments." Commenting on the finds in Tinnevely Mr. Rea remarks: "The people who made these objects appear to have been skilful in moulding pottery, in casting and brating metals, in weaving, and in working stone and wood." And a solitary instance of "the use of pottery for ear-rings" should not be taken to imply that the ornaments seen worn by men and women represented in sculpture and painting in Sânci, Orissâ,<sup>1</sup> Ajantâ,<sup>2</sup> and Amarâvati<sup>3</sup> were not of gold and silver. The explanation of the extreme rarity of ancient gold and

<sup>1</sup> Vide Râjendra Lâla's *Orissa*.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Griffiths' *The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantâ*.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Burgess' *Amarâvati*.



silver work is simple enough. Gold and silver ornaments and utensils were, and still are, considered the property not of individual members of the family but of the family in India. "The movement of the progressive societies" says Sir Henry Sumner Maine, "has been uniform in one respect. Through all its course it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency, and the growth of individual obligation in its place. The individual is steadily substituted for the family, as the unit of which civil laws take account. The advance has been accomplished at varying rates of celerity, and there are societies not absolutely stationary in which the collapse of the ancient organisation can only be perceived by careful study of the phenomena they present."<sup>1</sup> But in India the tempest of conquest and the tidal waves of nations that swept over the continent frequently disturbed and delayed this advance and the sway of foreign nations checked it. In India the family and not the individual has been considered the unit of society. Consequently individual members of a family are only allowed to use gold and silver ornaments and utensils—not to appropriate them. "Men may come and men may go", but these family possessions "go on for ever"—changing shape with change of fashion. The giving of the diadem with the dead was nothing more than a peculiar custom confined to a particular locality. And we cannot refrain from remarking that out of 16 ornaments in plate XXXVIII (a) not more than three show unmistakable trace of Western influence.

It is unfortunate that the newly-organised department loses the services of Dr. Hulltzh who has, during the seventeen years he held office, done epigraphical work of unique value to India, and the archæological world generally.

The list of Archæological Reports published under official authority given at the end of the volume is very useful and shows what the Government has already done for archæology in India.

We cannot do better than bring this long notice to a close with a reference to the steps that have been taken to secure the preservation of minor and movable antiquities by instituting small museums in some of the main centres of archæologica

<sup>1</sup> Maine—*Ancient Law*.

interest, and by stimulating local officers to assist in bringing together any objects of value upon which they may chance. "This", justly remarks Mr. Marshall, "is one of the most important aspects of conservation, inasmuch as many of the smaller monuments scattered about the face of the country are incapable of preservation on the spot where they have been found and often too bulky to be removed to the larger museums which exist only in the capital cities of India; and even if their removal were practicable, there are few local officers with sufficient general interest in the preservation of antiquities to take the trouble to despatch them to some far off museum, where they themselves may never have the opportunity of viewing them again. The museums which have recently been arranged for—all, it should be added, at the instigation of His Excellency the Viceroy—are at Malda in Bengal, at Pagan and Mandalay in Burma, at Bijapur in Bombay, at Sarnath near Benares, at the Taj in Agra, and at Peshawar in the Frontier Provinces. The districts in which these museums are placed are sufficient guarantee that they will be rapidly stocked with interesting and valuable antiquities. Already at Pagan the efforts of one native assistant and the outlay of a few rupees have brought together a collection of inscriptions, idols, terra-cotta plaques, enamelled tiles, and the like of first-rate importance. By the institution of such collections it may be hoped also that the attraction of visitors to these localities will be increased, that fresh light will be thrown on the groups of monuments with which they are connected, and that the minor antiquities themselves, which go to make up the collections, will be studied to greater advantage on the actual spot where they have been discovered, than they could be, if dissociated from their surroundings in some distant museum."

The only thing we miss in the "Annual" is an index, for want of which the student has to make one for himself. A separate index volume was given to the continued series of reports by General Cunningham, but the scope of these "Annuals" is different, and each volume should contain an exhaustive Index for ready reference.

The "Annual" is a book to read and re-read, for it presents us with a perennial feast. To quote the *Statesman*: "It is

a superb book \* \* \* which, whether viewed as a work of scholarship or as a work of art, merits unstinted praise. Its contents make it a valuable addition to every student's library, while its magnificent illustrations and its general typographical beauty render it a suitable ornament for the drawing-room table." Let us hope it will stimulate curiosity in the student and help him in his researches, and make the educated public outside India interested in Indian antiquities.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

#### Art. IV.—LORD CURZON.

**L**ORD CURZON has resigned the high post which he has held for nearly seven years amid almost universal regret and Lord Minto is appointed to succeed him. It cannot be said that in this case an Amurath an Amurath succeeds, for it would be hard to find another ruler who combines in himself all those qualities, mental and moral, which Lord Curzon brought to his difficult task of governing this vast country, really a continent, with its three hundred millions of widely differing races and creeds. It is no disrespect to the new-comer to say that he does not possess the genius with which his predecessor is gifted without doubt. In the eyes of common-place men this will perhaps be his greatest qualification. The Ministry that has selected him does not, it seems, want in this post a brilliant man of genius with the courage of his convictions to withstand the new policy they are forcing on this country of military autocracy, but requires merely one who can subserviently carry out this policy without saying nay to any demand of the Commander-in-Chief, provided he makes it in the name of that new shibboleth, which has gained currency since the Boer War, military efficiency. Whether Lord Minto is the proper person to play this subordinate part which the Ministry seems to have marked out for him, or whether when once fairly installed in the post he will not rise to its full height and refuse to carry out Lord Kitchener's commands, even like his immediate predecessor, remains to be seen. He has one thing in his favour; he has an hereditary and almost family interest in India. His great-grandfather, the first Earl of Minto, held, nearly a century ago, the high and responsible post to which his illustrious descendant has been now called. His great-grand-uncle, Sir Hugh Elliot, the brother of the first Earl, was ruler of Madras. His maternal grandfather was a famous Commander-in-Chief of Madras, Sir Thomas Hislop, who helped greatly to render the rule of Lord Hastings famous by his brilliant victory of Mehidpore over Scindia;

whilst several Elliots have served or are serving still in the Civil and Military services of this country. He himself is no stranger to India, having served in the second Afghan War a quarter of a century ago. He served under Lord Roberts there and also was Private Secretary to him when that great soldier went to South Africa in 1881, only, however, to return without even landing there, as an inglorious peace had hurriedly been made by Mr. Gladstone, a peace that he was destined later to avenge by his splendid victories. He may thus be supposed to share Lord Roberts' views on the present regrettable incident between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief; and these views as declared in his great speech in the House of Lords, are decidedly against Lord Kitchener's pretensions, though he himself once filled the same high post as the latter and might naturally be supposed to sympathise with him.

Though these are good auguries, one expects troublous times during the coming years of Lord Minto's Viceroyalty. Lord Kitchener requires an exceptionally strong Viceroy to control him in the militarism which will now grow very aggressive after the first easy victory just scored. Where Lord Curzon has failed one need not be called too pessimistic if he does not expect Lord Minto to succeed. The very circumstances under which he has been appointed probably tend to show that he is not meant to succeed. The present Ministry is at the very end of its career of office. The alliance with Japan has been just renewed for another five years, and thus the only cause, which, according to its own showing, prevented it from resigning is removed. The appointment of a new Viceroy by such a Ministry must have been made with the full consent and co-operation of the other party which is very likely to come into power next. Otherwise there may be a repetition of the untoward events of 1835, when Lord Heytesbury, who had been appointed Governor-General by an outgoing party, was a few months later told by the party that succeeded it not to proceed to India, and his appointment was cancelled under humiliating circumstances by the sending out of Lord Auckland, the choice of the party that had come into power. (*Cf. Thornton, Hist. of British India, Vol. VI.,*

pp. 22-50.) It may be taken for granted that Lord Minto has not allowed himself to be put in the humiliating position of Lord Heytesbury and that he will continue to be the Viceroy under the Liberals also. The advent of the Liberals, however much it may be wished for by the Young India party here, bodes nothing good in the matter of the dispute between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Kitchener is the chosen pet of the Liberal party and Lord Rosebery has often in his speeches paraded him as the heaven-sent saviour of the nation and extolled his schemes of re-organization of the Army. One therefore cannot look for relief from this quarter. The military incubus will sit tighter upon poor India and exhaust her treasury.

Only in one case does one see relief. Lord Rosebery and his followers may see reason to recall Lord Kitchener, not in disgrace but in triumph, and set him the task of re-organising the Army in England, which, from all the recent accounts, has been made a mess of, giving him the free hand, devoid of any control, that he so much hankers after. No one in India, not even Young Bengal which from interested motives is now exultantly jubilant over his triumph, would grudge England the glorious services of her great, her "only general," *le brave general*; and most would join in wishing him godspeed. That would be the best solution for India of the present difficulty, and then Lord Minto would reign without the danger of being overshadowed by an imperious personality who would brook no brother near the throne. Or if the English nation is so very willing to try the experiment of giving full sway to military autocracy,—not, however, on herself but on the *corpore vile* of poor India—why is not Lord Kitchener at once made Viceroy as well as Commander-in-Chief, as in former times Lords Wellesley and Hastings were Commanders-in-Chief as well as Governors-General. In those days the military situation was considered so critical that to the Civil ruler was also entrusted military authority. At the present day in the opinion of the English Ministry things are supposed to have come to such a pass that the Civil authority must be rendered perfectly subordinate to the Military. *Silent arma inter leges* was a sound maxim. But now it seems laws, of control and check, ought to be silent

in times of profound peace. It would, in the long run, be better to hold the post of Viceroy in abeyance for a time than to degrade this supreme office which ought to be second to none in this country, by rendering it subordinate, for that is what the resignation of Lord Curzon really means. He has risen to the full height of his great character when he has proudly declined to hold this "Imperial appointment which is the greatest honour England has to give, except the Government of herself" on any terms inconsistent with its supreme controlling power. It has been his misfortune that he hands over this high post shorn of an essential part of its power. But it is his misfortune only ; he has had no hand in bringing about this diminution of the Viceregal authority. He has resigned rather than submit to it. He had but a few months more of office here. In any case he was to have left our shores next April. He goes a few months earlier now, a fact which affects him personally but little. A few months more or less of office are a matter of indifference to such a high-souled man as Lord Curzon has abundantly shown himself to be.

The renewal of his term of office last year was not of his seeking. His continuance in India has been a sacrifice of his ambitions which we all know lie towards English politics. But he has sacrificed these ambitions to his sense of duty towards the Empire and towards India in particular. He had undertaken several tasks in the best interests of the land and its peoples, and those best able to judge knew that his presence here was required if they were to be brought successfully to a close. In this sense, and with this object, he consented to come out again for a fresh term. That he leaves now some of those objects unaccomplished or but half accomplished is through no fault of his own. The responsibility of placing him in circumstances where no alternative was possible but resignation lies on other shoulders. There are occasions when a statesman must relinquish the noblest aims for higher considerations and in preference to principles from which he cannot swerve. Nobody can doubt that such a rare occasion arose in the case in which Lord Curzon found himself placed. And melancholy as are the circumstances under which so splendid a Viceroyalty has ended somewhat

prematurely, one cannot but rejoice that he was found equal to the occasion and has acquitted himself during this crisis in a manner worthy of his past career and of the best traditions of English statesmanship. He did not stoop to palter for power. Nor on the other hand did he assume an unpractical and uncompromising attitude under a mistaken notion of duty as sometimes happens. He did not resign at once, but tried to bring round the Ministry by conceding something in order to save the principle in which he was throughout firm as a rock, of the final controlling authority of the Viceroy in military matters. But when he saw clearly that it was the settled purpose of the Ministry to give *carte blanche* to Lord Kitchener and to raise him above the control of the Viceroy, he recognised manfully that opposition on his part would be useless, and refused to be a party to such a strange departure from constitutional methods.

Those who affect to see in Lord Curzon's resignation nothing but personal pique and resentment of the tactless conduct of Mr. Brodrick do gross injustice to him and show a strange want of knowledge of his character. If the present writer has read his character aright, not so much from his words as his works, a sense of duty must be said to form its strongest feature. Duty first to England and then to India has inspired his whole policy and every act which he has done in furtherance of that policy. Sometimes he may have been mistaken in his notions of that duty. Those of my countrymen who have first blamed him and then abused him till now they have come to hate him as if he were their worst enemy, are eminently unreasonable and therefore it is useless to argue with them. But to those Indians who admit that he did some good to India but did also great harm by his retrogressive measures, it may be answered that they are judging by a false standard and from a different point of view to that of men like Lord Curzon. With men like him England is and ought to be first and foremost in their affections: their duty is and ought to be towards England first and foremost. It is their dearest object to make England's Empire over the world stronger and wider, and their first notion of duty is to help that object forward. Now Indians, because they are Indians, can never look upon England and her Empire



with the same eyes as these Englishmen. But if they have imagination they can put themselves in their position and judge accordingly. This they fail to do in most cases and hence their unjust criticism and censure of men like Lord Curzon. They judge an English Viceroy from a purely Indian point of view ; it is natural that he should hardly satisfy them. In the case of Lord Curzon, who is thoroughly English and Imperialist to boot, it is very natural that they should not be satisfied with him at all. The Englishman and Indian are so much at variance in their standards and their standpoints. An Indian cannot be expected to feel much for the Empire on which an Englishman sets so much store and for which his fathers have in days gone by suffered so much. Even the so-called "Little Englander" who affects to belittle the Empire feels at heart for it and would resent the slightest injury to it meditated by others. In spite of the cant that is being talked by some on the subject, the truth must be recognised and looked full in the face by Indians that England governs India as part of the British Empire first for herself and then for the Indians.

Nothing in contemporary politics does so much harm as the blinking of this fact by Indians and the consequent confusion of points of view. And none do more mischief than those "benevolent" Englishmen who encourage Indians in blinking this fundamental fact and thus help the confusion. They are to my mind not the true friends of India or of England either, who help the notion that England governs India solely for the benefit of Indians regardless of her own interests ; that when her interests conflict with those of India they must give way before the latter. It is some such notion that Indian politicians have got into their heads ; and it is by some such impossible standard that they judge our Viceroys. They consider England to be a purely philanthropic country which undertakes the burden of ruling millions upon millions of subject peoples in a missionary spirit regardless of her own interests. They forget that she has sunk capital and, what is more precious than capital, the life blood of her sons in rearing her Empire in India as elsewhere and that she expects a legitimate return from all this, somewhat as a merchant does

from the business that has been built up by the firm of his fathers. In all political transactions they are apt to look to Indian interests alone and to lose sight of the fact that England has any interest of her own in India. This is the fundamental fallacy of these Indian politicians and publicists who judge of English Viceroys and their policy and acts, from a wholly and purely Indian standpoint. India for the Indians is their impossible standard of measuring the English Rule, and no wonder that English Rule fails to satisfy them. They forget that India is a subject country, and think that they ought to be on the same level as their English subjectors. They forget that the Indian Empire is a sort of partnership in which the predominant partner is England, and that in cases of a conflict of interests those of the predominant partner must prevail. This is a fact, an inconvenient fact no doubt, but it must be borne home upon the Indian mind. It must be clearly understood by Indians that England means to govern India and to keep it as her possession and that she will do everything that can strengthen her hold upon this country. She is rather shy of proclaiming this fact, but all the same her conduct towards India is based on this. She will not allow anything that tends to weaken her hold upon India.

Now Lord Curzon throughout his career had this one fixed object in his mind: to render India impregnable without as well as within and to eliminate as much as possible the factors that make for disruption. In pursuing this policy firmly and unflinchingly he displeased many and especially Indian politicians. But the task of an English Viceroy is not to please or displease persons or parties, but to do his duty to the Empire and to India to the best of his abilities and according to his lights. If he is so fortunate as to please the Indians whilst doing his duty it ought to be considered a lucky coincidence. He should not for the sake of pleasing them and gaining their momentary applause swerve from the thorny path that duty points him. His foreign policy has been much criticised by his Indian critics. But they are not and cannot, in the nature of things, be in a position to judge of it fairly in all its bearings. Even if they had the will they lack the necessary knowledge of

foreign politics which alone can enable them to be fair and well-informed critics. India comes in contact at some point or other of its vast land frontier with three first-class powers, Russia, France, and China, besides two second-class states like Afghanistan and Persia. The ruler of India has to conduct the delicate negotiations which this contact involves. He must have an eye to what is going on at St. Petersburg or Peking, an ear for what is passing at Cabul and Teheran. \* Much of this knowledge is necessarily kept from the public gaze. Action based on this taken under such complicated circumstances is not transparent to the outside world. The Viceroy is bound not to disclose his justificatory knowledge in cases where his actions and policy are criticised freely by ignorant and irresponsible critics. He is like a person who is fighting with his right arm bound behind his back.

No part of his foreign policy has been so bitterly attacked by Indian critics as his attitude towards Tibet and the expedition to that country. It was throughout a game of sheer ignorance and misrepresentation on their part displayed against a man who they knew very well could justify his policy to the hilt if he was permitted to disclose the real facts which were, of course, kept a State secret. But enough was let out to make it quite clear that Russia was playing her old hostile game behind Tibet and that she was merely using the weak and worthless Dalai Lama as her pawn to annoy and if possible hurt India and through India, the British Empire. We know to our bitter cost in two Afghan wars what the game of Russia is; and that Viceroy would be culpably wanting in his duty if he quietly allowed Russia to make of Tibet what she had made of Afghanistan not long ago and use it as a means of perpetual threat to us on our northern frontier. Lord Curzon boldly grappled with the awkward situation which Russian diplomatists had created at Lhasa and nipped the danger in the bud which would otherwise have grown to large proportions and complications in a short time. By a master stroke of policy he discomfited the refractory little politician-priests, proud and insolent in their ignorance of the outside world, and showed them the true nature of Russian promises of support,

at just the time when Russia was entangled in a life and death struggle with her Far Eastern rival. It is a pity that our Indian critics saw in all this nothing but a fresh example of England's insolence to weaker powers and an illustration of might being right. This explains how utterly unfit are such critics to take broad views, especially when the Empire is concerned, and how little able they are to rise above village politics. That Lord Curzon is criticised by such ought to be his greatest praise. If past English rulers had been guided by their views and encouraged by their applause, there would probably be no British Empire in India or elsewhere left to be ruled by Lord Curzon or anyone else.

Turning to internal and domestic affairs we find Lord Curzon's policy still more fiercely criticised, and even himself personally attacked by the Indian critics. The reason of this will be again found to redound to his credit as an English statesman. They admit that he came out to this country with no hostility to its peoples; one would like to know what English ruler ever comes out with such hostility, even Lord Lytton, the worst criticised of our Viceroys, is allowed to have had sympathy for the people. But Lord Curzon is credited with no such sympathy during the latter part of his rule. The Indians praised him during the first years of his rule and there were loud cries of his being the best the most sympathetic Viceroy, about his being another Lord Ripon and so forth. *Nemo fit repente turpissimus*. Yet suddenly he seems to have grown extremely unpopular. But here we must distinguish. Unpopularity amongst the Indian peoples is a different thing from the unpopularity so ostentatiously expressed by certain prominent Indian politicians and their following. One may be extremely unpopular with the latter without being unpopular with the former, because the real Indian peoples are almost voiceless. We believe this to be really the case with Lord Curzon. We know from various signs that with them he is not only not unpopular, but so far as they can appreciate him he is even popular. They know that he has stood up for curtailing needless expenditure and for rendering India greater justice than before at the hands of English politicians. They

know that he alone of the last several Viceroys has appreciably reduced the taxpayer's burden, and twice within two years has lowered the salt tax, a tax felt particularly by the lower classes. They know that although throughout his rule plague, famine, and other disasters have been raging, he has taken very efficient measures for relieving their suffering and has cheered them by his genuine sympathy.

But with the small class of educated Indians Lord Curzon is not popular. And the real reason of this unpopularity, almost hostility, is not far to seek. It is owing to his having passed the Universities Bill. There are many educated Indians, and the present writer is of their number, who consider it a good measure calculated to do great benefit to the country. But the class who think thus is small and, moreover, not an adept in the prevalent methods of political agitation. Indian public opinion is very hard to ascertain. What calls itself by this grand name is a mere travesty. What exists and asserts itself is mere political ventriloquism, the multiplication of the opinion of one individual or class in many ways and forms, in the press, the platform and even at the council board. Chiefly the educated few voice their opinions everywhere and by making the most noise create the impression that there is no other opinion beside theirs. They are mortally offended with Lord Curzon because he would not let them have their own way in the vital matter of education. They were very cleverly using education as a means of weakening the tie which binds India to England with the view of finally initiating a separatist movement. Indeed some enthusiasts have already formed an Indian Home Rule League in England—with all the consequences which such a movement involves. With this purpose they were gradually absorbing the whole educational machinery in the country into their own hands, very subtly and quietly but steadily. Beginning with the schools they proceeded to the colleges and finally they captured the universities. These latter have become anything but educational; they are really political institutions engineered by Congress politicians. This has been going on for a long time past; those who keenly observed raised a warning voice long ago. The universities

and colleges were assuming the aspect of similar institutions in Russia and elsewhere and were being prepared silently to work similar harm to the authorities in course of time. Many Viceroys were aware of this grave menace. But none of them had the courage to take up the task boldly and arrest the menace before it grew to grave proportions. Each of them realised its importance, but left the *damnosa hereditas* to his successor. Lord Dufferin made some attempts towards the solution of this grave problem. But even he shrank from it. The task was peculiarly ungrateful to a statesman steeped in English traditions who shrinks from all methods of repression. But unless he is prepared to see the grave of the English connexion with India, he is bound to do something to arrest this movement effectually. We can well believe that Lord Curzon undertook this task with no great eagerness. If he had consulted his own ease and popularity he would have shirked it and been content to let it drift towards some future successor of his. That he tackled it shows not only his courage, but his statesmanship of a high order which refuses to tinker at reform.

By the Universities Bill Lord Curzon restored the controlling power in the universities and through them in the colleges to the State, gently wresting it from the politicians who had usurped it too long. We say restored, for when the universities were created nearly half a century ago this power was reserved in the hands of the State and for a time exerted by it. But gradually Government neglected its proper function and, of course, it was willingly relieved of it by other persons we know of. If former Governments had done their duty that of Lord Curzon would not have been called on to perform this unpleasant task of restoring to the State its proper control in educational matters. The universities and the colleges affiliated to them would not have become, as they are now, the strongholds of Indian radicalism and outposts of the Congress movement, in time to grow into the Home Rule movement for India. By this Bill the government of the universities is to be in the hands of proper educational authorities and no longer in those of irresponsible politicians who took to education only as a means to their own end. This was enough to

make the Indian politicians, who hoped to turn the universities to still better account in the near future, but for this awkward blow to their hopes, the bitter foes of Lord Curzon. They made a desperate attempt to get into the governing bodies or Syndicates of the universities through some technical flaw in the Bill. But their adversary was not to be foiled. He passed the famous Invalidation Bill; and this completed in the eyes of his foes the measure of his offence. They have persecuted him bitterly; they have reviled him, lampooned him mercilessly. But all this did not make him swerve by a hair's breadth from what he thought to be right and expedient for India as well as England. For India would be the first to suffer if the attempt of interested parties were to succeed in changing the educational character of the universities, making them political institutions pure and simple using them as machinery of agitation against the Government and the authorities.

A country situated in the circumstances of India at present would gain nothing, but on the contrary would be much harmed by poisoning the mind of the rising generation, which is specially the charge of the universities and colleges, against British rule and England's connexion with India. It was surely not with these objects that they were founded by England; she generously and wisely thought that education would be her greatest support and bulwark in this land of many castes, creeds, and races, that if she could succeed in training the youth in her own Western ways they would sympathise with her and help her in the task of ruling their ignorant brethren. When these objects were perverted, when Englishmen saw that education instead of being a help was used as a hindrance, instead of proving a uniting bond was used as the means of sowing discord between the rulers and the ruled, there was assuredly time to call halt and to reform the educational system that had gone wrong. Any other country but England would not have allowed the system to go so very wrong, but would have taken in hand the work of reforming it long ago. Nowhere else, not even in countries which boast of the freest institutions, was liberty in these educational matters so scandalously abused. In all well ordered Governments the education of the youth is the special

object of State control. The French Republic neglected it for long, with the result that doctrines inimical to its existence were found to be alarmingly widespread, owing chiefly to Catholic priests having had the education of the French youths in their sole hands. At last the Republic was thoroughly alarmed and the recent stringent measures against the Church and especially its influence in education were passed. Every Government has the right to adopt whatever measures it thinks proper for its safety and stability. The British Government in India has assuredly that right, and those who preside over it ought not be blamed for exercising that right, occasionally even in a somewhat harsh manner. It should not be called upon to look on unconcernedly when its foundations are being slowly and subtly yet steadily and insidiously sapped. That the educational system as it is worked at present is doing this, is my firm conviction and those who know something of its working from inside would be disposed to agree with this opinion.

Though I am an Indian, yet I make bold to state that it is unworthy of Indians to abuse thus the magnanimity of England and to use the undoubted benefits of British rule to sap the foundations of that rule. It is not only unworthy but also disastrously shortsighted and suicidal. For better for worse the fortunes of India are bound up with those of England. Her strength is our strength and we ought to rejoice in it even out of selfish motives. Anything that weakens her in the estimation of the world is sure to react on us terribly. India cannot stand by itself; this has been proved over and over again in her past history. She must be taken in tow by another country. If England were to give her up, another power, Russia, Japan, France would pounce upon her at once. She cannot have Home rule; she is not fitted for it. She must have English rule or the rule of some other power. That English rule is better than that of any other power will be admitted in their calm and reasonable moments by even its bitterest critics. It is the bounden duty not only of British but also of Indian politicians, if they really feel for India and if they are really far-sighted, to do everything that tends to strengthen the connection of England with India, and to avoid doing anything that would



weaken it. Surely he is not a real Indian patriot who like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji says intemperately : " The British people stand charged with the blood of the perishing millions and the starvation of scores of millions, not because they desire so, but because the authorities to whom they have committed the trust, betray that trust and administer expenditure in a manner based upon selfishness and hypocrisy and most disastrous to the people " (*Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, 1902, p. 386 ) or who like him compares the English in India to robbers and cut-throats : " Let them withdraw their hand from India's throat, and then see whether the increase in population is not an addition to its strength and production instead of British-made famines and poverty," (*ibid*, p. 388). Language such as this comes not from an irresponsible individual, but from one who is the chosen champion and mouthpiece of educated Indians and who, from his position, may be supposed to have well weighed his words and the influence they would have on the rising generation of Indians. What is worse these Indians find Englishmen in England to encourage them in their wild talk, and set them a pernicious example which they are but too willing to follow. According to the late Mr. William Digby, the English connection with India, is as ruthless and immoral as the conquests of those Tartar " brutes," Timur and Genghiz ! " If an absolutely impartial judge, with a full knowledge of all the circumstances in each instance, were to place side by side the wrong and human suffering caused by Timur the Tartar or Genghiz Khan, with the mental, moral, and physical misery endured in India during the past fifty years, the ill consequences properly debitable against Christian Englishmen, who have a high place in the National Valhalla, would be as great as those for which the ruthless brutes of ancient days have had to answer to history, and may be to God ! " (*Prosperous British India*, 1901, p. 4.) It is melancholy to reflect that these are the words of an Englishman.

But diatribes like these of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. William Digby are eagerly accepted by Indian critics, and the books in which they occur are subsidised and scattered broadcast by the Congress. One may ask sober Indians whether this is to continue, and whether the British Government

should go on producing as the results of its educational system such specimens as Mr. Dadabhai and his younger followers. The educational system should be thoroughly overhauled if it is to produce such fruits. It may conceivably be fit for a very advanced country with free institutions and strong enough to stand by itself and wise enough to govern itself. India is not such a country. What is meat for one is poison for another. And assuredly the results which education as at present carried on in this country produces, do not bode any good to anyone and least of all to Indians themselves. Lord Curzon let it be said to his lasting credit saw all this and seeing this he did not sit still like some of his predecessors, but began to take action in the proper direction. He began with overhauling the universities which had become the stronghold of misguided and mischievous political activity. He has aimed at restricting them strictly to their proper sphere by placing their management in the hands of educationists alone, and taking it out of the hands of those with whom political aims were foremost. A stricter control than now obtains is to be kept by the universities over colleges and high schools, and care is to be taken about what is to be taught in them and by whom. It may be objected that this is officialising the universities. Let it be frankly admitted that this is the case. *Res dura et regni novitas talia me cogunt moliri*, may well be said by Lord Curzon in justification. The difficulty and novelty of such an experiment as the introduction of Western education in an Eastern country have compelled him to proceed warily. And the results of this experiment so far, as we have cursorily seen, are such as to make a statesman with his sagacity more than usually cautious.

This is not a question to be decided by the approbation or disapprobation of Indian politicians. In this matter they are as it were in the position of the accused. Their disapprobation and denunciation is natural. Until now they alone have had a hearing and we have heard much of the dire consequences to befall the universities owing to this measure. There is time now, since Lord Curzon's personality is to be withdrawn from our midst, to judge the question dispassionately in the dry light

of reason. And we think the judgment of sober enquirers will justify the man and his measure. The universities are to be officialised, and what of that? Is not nearly every department in India official or officialised? And is not this required by the condition in which education now is and will remain for a long time to come? Does not everything in India, and the East generally, fall within the province of the Government? The Congress itself clamours every year that the State does not do enough for this and for that, and for education in particular, that it does not spend enough on this object. It wants the State to do everything for education except control it. They want men, they want money, they want the State to give them more colleges and schools, and even universities. But they do not want that there should be State control over all these. They point to foreign countries to show how much they spend on their educational institutions and how little does the State here. But they forget that these foreign countries exercise a far more rigorous control over these than the British Government thinks of exercising in this country. One may recommend these critics to study deeply the Prussian system of education in this connection. India is not nearly so advanced as Prussia, yet there the education of the youth is entirely an affair of the State and the whole system from the lower schools to the universities is under efficient and rigid control of Government officials.

The head and front of Lord Curzon's offence in the eyes of his Indian critics lay in this that he dared to interfere with the license that was reigning in our educational system, especially in its higher branches and tried to introduce the reign of law there, hurtful to no legitimate liberty but, on the contrary, giving full scope to their energies if they want to use them in the right direction for the benefit of both England and India. The irritation caused to them is too deep to pass away soon. But pass away it will one day, and then sensible men, as some of these Indian critics are, they will acknowledge that the change which Lord Curzon has brought about was urgently needed and is on the whole beneficial to their country. At present they are blinded by their great prejudice on account of this education question to the great merits of the brilliant

statesman who is passing from a splendid career of useful and conscientious work in India to a still higher sphere with nobler ambitions that awaits him, where the experience gained in our midst will be more widely available for the Empire at large which he has so much at heart. It is rarely that England sends out such a statesman with such rare accomplishments to govern India. During the whole of last century she sent out three or four such, and in the long rôle of England's proconsuls in India, the place of Lord Curzon will be beside Wellesley and Hastings, Dalhousie and Canning. Contemporary opinion in the case of all these men was in violent conflict. Wellesley was hampered and hindered at every turn by the East India Company at home, as his great successor of our day has been hampered and hindered by an unsympathetic Secretary of State at the end of his career. There was a petition from India for the recall of Canning just as there has been a petition from Bengal for the recall of Lord Curzon. Torrents of unmerited obloquy occasioned by the breaking out of the Mutiny, for which he was not only not responsible, but which would have been averted had the measures he strongly recommended been taken, broke but could not bend the haughty head of Dalhousie confident in his own righteousness of the power of posterity to do him that justice which his contemporaries denied him in their ignorance or perverseness. Lord Wellesley lived to see the Directors of the East India Company, who were ready to recall him in 1804, render him justice more than thirty years later when they voted to erect a statue of him to grace their hall, and presented him with an address in which they called him a great benefactor of their Indian Empire. Lord Curzon is still young, and he may live to receive a like tribute of tardy gratitude and admiration from the people he once ruled so wisely and well.

At present he leaves the country under a passing cloud and the sun of his fortunes which had become almost proverbial is suffering a partial eclipse. It is some satisfaction to contemplate that the circumstances that have cast their shadow on him are entirely honourable to him. It is only a shadow from which he will emerge unsullied. The military

autocracy, in the struggle with which he has been worsted, is bound in the long run to collapse. England cannot long remain in the present state of military hypnotism. The spectre of military inefficiency is haunting her and she is deluded by the will o' the wisp of army reorganisation. It is only in such a state that she has consented to such an overthrow of the civil power and triumph of militarism as is implied by the fall of Lord Curzon. But she will be soon herself again. Militarism has never for any length of time gained the upper hand in her concerns. The instincts of the country are against it. The Indian army is assuredly not in such a parlous state as is made out by rampant partisans of militarism. And surely it is an irony of fate that that army should be so much decried for want of efficiency at just the time when it is least wanted to fight the traditional foe who has been menacing the peace of India for a century ; but who at this moment is lying low and is not in a position to injure us for many years to come ; and that the ruler who has done so much to safeguard the interests of the Indian Empire and to render it impregnable from without, in whose time Russia has been exhausted as she has never been before in our time, without any effort on our part, should himself fall a victim to the panic he has done so much to remove.

R. P. KARKARIA.

## II.

THE Viceroy has resigned ! Look away from the passion in Calcutta over the proposed partition of Bengal, detach yourself from the controversy in Simla between the War Lord and the Civil power ; and think quietly of what has happened in the last six years or more since this courageous man, George Nathaniel Curzon, attempted the Herculean task of uplifting the standard of life in India. When Queen Victoria asked Baron Curzon to help her to govern 340,000,000 of her subjects, whom she had never seen, but whom she loved passionately, she made choice of a man of great gifts, one of the few *real* Imperialists in England, a man of great courage, with a consuming fire of devotion to duty, and a man withal who knew something of the East. He had been in India, had been the guest of Abdur Rahman in Kabul ! He saw that personality is the governing force in the Orient, that the man in a little chair here is of greater importance in the eyes of the people than the man in a big chair a thousand miles away. He, therefore, landed in Bombay, determined to try and uplift the moral standard of everyone from the highest noble in the land to the meanest extortioner of a village constable.

His speeches rang with enthusiasm, with praise of work done ; but now and then with warning. The feudatory chiefs saw that the same hand signed the increase of guns for the good Begum of Bhopal and removed from his *gadi* the unjust, incompetent Holkar of Indore ; and they now see the nobility of his statement that they exist for the good of their subjects.

While he upheld the Covenanted Civilian in every way, he saw that high Civilians had made a practice of going on three months' privilege leave, coming back for four months of cold weather work, and then taking a year's furlough.

Baron Curzon issued an order that every Civil officer, Covenanted and Uncovenanted, must work eighteen months between any one leave and any other, unless he got ill, in which case he was treated with marvellous consideration. To silver this pill of eighteen months' continuous work, Baron Curzon announced that every man could combine his privilege leave and furlough, *i.e.*, he could draw full pay, as if on duty,

for the first three months of his furlough ; and this concession has been extended to the military. This is the "greatest boon that has ever been conferred on the services in India.

Men who, before 1901, could not afford to go Home to see their wife and children, at once took six months' combined leave. And yet these same men snarl against the man who gave them this ineffable privilege, who gave them hope while working hard, that they might go away oftener, and come back more fit for work.

There is no good in attempting to deny the fact that nearly every Army man dislikes the Viceroy. The main causes are two :—

(a) The IXth Lancers' case.

(b) Shooting passes.

(a) In the matter of the punishment of the IXth Lancers a punkha coolie had been murdered.

The regimental authorities could not find the murderer.

Lord Curzon said in effect :—

"If your regiment were in England the Colonel would be removed. Here in India, I punish you all from the Colonel down to the youngest drummer boy," but, later on, he permitted them to furnish the escort to the Connaughts at the Delhi Durbar.

(b) Very early in Baron Curzon's Viceroyalty, new rules for shooting passes were issued, in which the British soldier on pass was kept further away from villages and villagers.

Mr. Thomas Atkins thought that Baron Curzon was "all for the native;" but in all such cases, it is demonstrable that he is the incarnation of justice ; and the passionate exponent of the doctrine, laid down in the *Pax Britannica* of 1858 by Victoria the Great, that all are equal before her throne.

It takes a Colonel commanding a British regiment some little time to believe that, in the eye of the law, his punkha coolies and regimental mehtars have equal rights with him ; and Mr. Atkins blasphemes loud and long against being given gaol for kicking such a menial ; but, when I laid down the hasty doctrine (in a particular case of thrashing a native) that there was one law for the officer and another for the private, a shrewd old Colonel of the Bengal Cavalry made answer :—

"No, no; in the present Viceroyalty there is one law for both officer and private. *He must not hit a native.*"

Of course, the planter who walks about on his estate among a thousand coolies knows that there is no equality there; but if he thrashes a coolie, he ought to be very careful, extremely careful that the man's spleen is not large.

The fact is that, with the exception of the Covenanted Civilians, nearly every white man gets angry at times with a tricky or insolent native, and thrashes him. Baron Curzon's simple exposition of the majesty of the *Pax Britannica*, therefore, enrages us all, although we know that he is, superhumanly, quite right.

Not long ago, the Premier declared in the House of Commons that the problem of the North-West Frontier of India is the first problem of the British Empire.

Baron Curzon is an adherent to the simple common-sense policy of endeavouring to create contented, peaceful, frontier tribes, and contented buffer states between us and Russia.

At no time within the memory of living men have the tribes on our frontier, from the Afridis to the Shans, been so contented. Peaceful among themselves they cannot be; they would then die of *ennui*, but they are contented to be our neighbours.

The expedition into Thibet I do not understand.

Let me pass it by.

Afghanistan is a contented, buffer State, ruled by an Oriental who understands his people, and who knows that they are quite happy, as long as Russia on the one side and Britain on the other, keep out of Afghanistan.

I should be glad to be able to believe as the years roll on that the Police Commission has reformed the Indian constable. It is difficult to believe the alacrity with which a Sub-Inspector and a Head Constable will fabricate a false case; the simplicity with which a common garden constable will extort four annas from a man or woman, wrongfully accused. I am lost in admiration of the man who came back from England for a sixth or seventh year of work in order, *inter alia*, to reform the Indian Police. The police are the people put into uniform, and the people lie cheerfully.

I once asked a Sessions Judge in Moradabad :



"What is the difference between the duties of a Judge in England and in India?"

He replied :

"In England he has to try cases in which I grieve to say "that one of the parties is a liar. Here, in India, both plaintiff and defendant are liars. The man who has the truth on "his side thinks so little of it that he will bolster it up with false "evidence. Do you see those five thousand men under the "trees? What do you suppose that they are?"

I answered "Suitors."

"Suitors! How could I get through even a thousand cases "in a day? They are waiting to be hired at two annas to swear "falsely for either plaintiff or defendant in any case to-day."

Verily we have very inferior tools to use in the task of governing India; and the wonder is that a Judge ever gets at the truth and tramples on the false cases trumped up; but the High Courts are the glory of India.

One might dwell on the fixity of exchange caused by the gold standard, or the creation of a Government department to help commerce and industry, on both Baron and Lady Curzon's encouragement of Indian art, on her endeavours to get more women doctors for the women of India, but as Baron Curzon of Kedleston and his charming helpmeet pass away from India, let our final thought of him be in connection with the Delhi Durbar. Its picturesqueness, its Oriental magnificence, its barbaric splendour quickened the pulse of the nation. We are a shopkeeping nation, but we do like a good show; and the proclamation of Edward the VIIth as Kaisar-i-Hind was the finest show that has ever been seen on land since we became a nation. And when the Mutiny veterans hobbled up the arena, guests of the nation, did you not cheer yourselves hoarse until you sat down with a lump in your throat, and tears in your eyes?

Yes you did, and you felt that Baron Curzon was the right man in the right place, the noble representative of our King. Then if I have persuaded you out of your surliness, your churlishness, take off your hat with me before the Band plays, and, as the launch steams out from the Bunder, say—God bless the Viceroy, the ablest man that ever came to India.

J. MIDDLETON MACDONALD.

## Art. V.—RECOLLECTIONS OF RETIRED CHAPLAINS OF THE HON. E. I. CO.\*

*I.—The Rev. Anthony Garstin, Rector of Redmile, Dioc. Peterboro'.*

THE Rev. Anthony Garstin received his theological education at Bishop's College in Calcutta, and was ordained Deacon in 1834, and priest in 1835, by Bishop Daniel Wilson. His first charge was that of Chaplain and Secretary of the Calcutta Free School, of which joint office he was the first incumbent.

About the time that Mr. Garstin held this appointment at the Free School, Sunday Schools were first enterprized in India. They were started first either at the Free School Church (St. Thomas's) or at the Old St. James's Church Calcutta, and met in the afternoon. An old friend of Mr. Garstin's, himself a chaplain of the company, Josiah Bateman, wrote on this subject : "Each corner of the Free Church below and of the gallery above became a little Sunday School." What we now call classes, in 1840 were called "Schools."

At about the same period there were founded two Diocesan Institutions still exercising a far reaching influence in the Calcutta Diocese. The Diocesan Church Building Fund founded in 1835, mainly through the advocacy of the Church Magazine, the predecessor of the *Indian Churchman*, of which for many years Archdeacon Corrie had been editor. To start this fund one thousand subscribers contributed each one rupee a month. The other Diocesan Institution is the "Additional Clergy Society" established in 1841. The magazine, when Mr. Garstin arrived, was edited by his fellow chaplain before mentioned who has left this note about it. "It had originally a missionary aim, but now it became almost necessarily somewhat 'churchy';" and bearing a semi-official character, its influence spread all over Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. Every chaplain read it, and every station circulated

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\* Compiled by permission from original correspondence.

it; and it did its part. I trust in honouring Christ, checking evil and promoting unity."

At this period the missionary enterprise most vigorously supported by the Church Magazine was the introduction of native Infant Schools into India. "A first-rate master, excellent and pious, who afterwards obtained Holy Orders and still lives," these are Canon Bateman's words of (1882) "an ornament to his profession, was brought from England, and— 'continues he—' I remember few more striking sights than one hundred native infants presented, after a little while, on their platform, as drawn from the harems of the native gentry, clothed in gorgeous robes, with their dark skins and flashing eyes repeating verses and singing songs in simple English words."

In the opening of his career Mr. Garstin's health was very feeble, he was believed to be in a decline, and he was obliged to resign his appointment and retire to England to recruit his strength. It had been his intention, however, to return if possible to his Indian work; with this in view, therefore, he took with him letters from his Bishop and from Mr. Blunt, Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Provinces, and other influential persons addressed to several of the Company's Directors recommending him for a chaplaincy. It had been hoped that Government would appoint a Chaplain of the Establishment to the position Mr. Garstin had held. But this hope was not to be realized for many years to come.

In course of time Mr. Garstin's health improved and a vacancy occurred on the list of Bengal Chaplains. To this vacancy Mr. Garstin was eventually appointed. The manner of his election is thus narrated by himself and opens a curious picture of the customs of the period relating to appointments in the superior branches of the Company's service. The choice of chaplains as well as of cadets and writers devolved upon the several Directors in turn. The Ecclesiastical vacancy fell to the Director to whom Mr. Blunt had written on Mr. Garstin's behalf. On him Mr. Garstin had called at the East India House and had been met with a most disconcerting rebuff. "He not only informed me"—he writes "that it was out of his power to serve me, as no appointment of the kind was available, but that even if he had one to dispose of he had so

many previous applications for appointments of one kind or another, all entered in his list that he could hold out no expectation on my part. Strange to relate"—continues Mr. Garstin—"when a vacancy did occur falling as it happened to this very Director, I succeeded in stepping into it greatly to my astonishment. On hearing of the vacancy I ventured, though in fear and trembling, to present myself before him a second time, in spite of the sorry reception he had given me on the previous occasion, and soon found that I should have still less of a welcome on this occasion for so it turned out. He opened out upon me in great wrath for again asking for what he had told me he could not give me and I was in the act of beating a humble and hasty retreat and closing the door after me when he called out "Do you think you could get a *cadetship*?" To which I replied "I am in Orders," mistaking his drift of his question, and thinking he meant to suggest that if I failed to obtain Ecclesiastical appointment I might fall back upon a Military one, which was more easily procurable, as far more frequently at the disposal of all the Directors. "O I know you are in Orders," he rejoined very gruffly, and almost savagely, "but what I meant is, could you get the *disposal* of a cadetship?" and then went on to explain that sometimes an exchange of appointment took place between one Director and another, and that as he had applications for cadetships, but none for chaplaincies, he was willing to enter into an arrangement of the kind if any brother Director desirous of serving me, but having no chaplaincy at his disposal, nor any prospect of one, would give a cadetship in exchange for his. This was, indeed, a most cheering intimation, and completely changed the aspect of affairs, for it was tantamount to presenting me with the appointment he had snubbed me for daring to ask for. I had been informed by the Secretary that several of the Directors were interested in my favour, and would gladly give me the coveted appointment if it were in their power, and there was one in particular who told me how much he wished to serve me in the matter, and how much he regretted that it was not then in his power to do so, or likely to be for an indefinite time, as such appointments were of comparatively rare occurrence, and like all the others, fell to the gift of the

entire body of the twenty-four Directors in turn. To his room then I posted, in the same building, the old India House in Leadenhall Street, and told him what his brother Director had said—that he had a chaplaincy at his disposal, but there was no applicant for it except my poor self, who had no right even to ask for it, whilst on the other hand he had ever so many applications for cadetships, but had none to give—my friend was startled, and looked as if a new light had burst upon him and then, after looking thoughtfully for a while, said—"I will do what I can and let you know"—what he had to do was to place a cadetship at the disposal of the other in exchange for the chaplaincy, and next day I had a note from him to say that it was all arranged—such was the singular way in which I became a Bengal Chaplain!

After this I had to appear before the whole court of Directors, sitting in solemn assembly and take the oath of allegiance and fidelity, and was in due time informed that my pay as Assistant Chaplain would be Rs. 500 a month, rising to Rs. 800. On my rising to the higher grade, which I did in somewhat less than 9 years, the service to be of 15 years' continuance, or 18, including furlough, before being entitled to the pension, which would be £365 a year—moreover, I was allowed, to begin with a gratuity of £150 for my passage to India, and was thus enabled to land in Calcutta free from debt, and to enter upon my duties unencumbered and unembarrassed."

Mr. Garstin's service is dated 8th November 1841, and he was first gazetted to Dum-Dum, then the headquarters of this Bengal Artillery, where he remained for a year and a half.

At this period, and for long afterwards, daily service was unknown or almost unknown anywhere in the diocese of Calcutta save only in the Cathedral. The regular station services were only those on Sunday mornings and evenings. Even at the Cathedral there was but one daily service, which was held early in the morning. When Bishop Cotton succeeded to the diocese even this service was discontinued, because, and it sheds a curious light on the opinions of the day, sometimes not more than two or three persons attended it. Mr. Garstin

in illustration of this view of things narrates an almost incredible tradition—To say Matins or Evensong with a congregation of the gospel "two or three" was waste of energy. "Not worth the powder and shot," as dear old Bishop Wilson so characteristically expressed it, when asked by the Judge of a small station he was passing through in the course of a visitation to stay over the Sunday, which was close at hand, and give them a service. This was on hearing that the congregation would consist of not more than a dozen persons! Weekly celebrations of the Holy Communion were scarcely known in the Company's days.

Mr. Garstin's experiences of "Out-station duty" were on a very large scale. After leaving Dum-Dum he was appointed Chaplain of Assam, 500 miles in extent, when he commenced his duties early in 1843. One of his journeys from Gowhatti, the Chief or Sudder Station of the Assam Chaplaincy, to one of the outlying ones well nigh cost him his life. "I was foolish enough," he says, "to go after a wild buffalo on foot, gun in hand, and got tossed and battered and bruised and broken for my pains, but other parties hastening to the rescue, and shouting as they ran, the animal made off before it had quite made an end of me; but I was terribly injured. Fortunately medical assistance was procurable on the following day at the station I was on my way to, travelling by boat. In due time the broken bones, the bruises and other injuries ceased to cause pain and disfigurement. It was a miraculous escape, for which I can never be sufficiently thankful, but what is most singular and unaccountable in the matter is that, though up to the time this happened I was universally looked upon as doomed to die of consumption at no very distant period, from that day forward I ceased to have any symptom of the kind. It is now more than half a century since the tossing and goring and stamping took place; from whence it may be inferred that if I ever was in a galloping consumption, as I was believed to be, it has galloped away from me long since."

Mr. Garstin was transferred in March 1844 from Assam to Sylhet with Cherrapunji. The connecting link being only 30 miles long. "This was a most advantageous appointment,"

he says, "Cherra being a hill station, where my family and myself always spent the hot season. All the rest of the year the climate of Sylhet, in the plains, was as temperate and enjoyable as one could wish." After some years of service in Sylhet, Mr. Garstin was sent to the Calcutta Cathedral—in January 1849. Thence in August 1851 he was transferred to Howrah where he served for several years. After this he was transferred to Darjiling (December 1854) for two years; and thence (January 1857) to Patna (Bankipore) just when things were at their most dangerous pass during an advanced stage of the mutiny. After this Mr. Garstin served in succession in Benares (October 1857)—where there were then thirteen regimental hospitals, Cawnpore (February 1859), Dacca (April 1859). Then in January 1866, after furlough, he was sent to Thyetmyoo in Burma. His final station being Muttra (December 1867) whence he retired under the then new 25 years' rule on the 8th of April 1868.

Writing from Redmile, Mr. Garstin concludes his narrative thus—"Little did I dream of being here now, towards the end of the century, to tell the tale, when in the early part of it (1834) I was in the threatened *rapid decline*. Little did I think that I would get through 34 years' work there, and then on returning, do nearly 30 years' work in England; yet here is the superannuated chaplain of more than a quarter of a century ago still in. An event of 53 years back recurs to me. Being very much out of health harness I went to Barrackpore for change of air, and put up with two Military friends, travelling by boat, and intending to go further, in due time. One of their officers was a powerful healthy young fellow, and as he sat writing one day with his coat off, and his shirt sleeves tucked up, I congratulated him upon being able to display such a pair of arms. "Yes, thank God, (he replied) I am very strong and well," looking contentedly at the said limbs as he uttered the words. Well, in ten days after that I attended his funeral, and his brokenhearted chum then told me that after they had seen me to my boat on taking leave of them his dear lost friend had said in a sad tone of voice as they walked back to their bungalow, "poor Garstin, I fear he is not long for this world," yet here I am now, in my 9th decade and still in

harness, truly shewing\*that "the race is not always to the swift," and that the ways of Providence are inscrutable.

*II.—The Rev. Frederic Farrer, M.A., Rector of Bourton-on-the-Hill, Moreton-in-Marsh, Diocese of Gloucester.*

THE Rev. Frederic Farrer graduated at Cambridge from St. John's College, B.A. in 1849 and M.A. in 1861. He was ordained Deacon in 1849, and Priest 1851, by the Bishop of Ely. On the 26th of August 1852, while serving a parish in Suffolk, he was appointed to his Bengal Chaplaincy.

"To begin *ab ovo*," writes Mr. Farrer, "it may not be without interest that on the day on which I presented myself at the India House in Leadenhall Street to receive my official appointment I was specially warned by the Chairman (Sir James Hogg) not to take any part in missionary work amongst the sepoys and others. Take this in connection with what Herbert Edwardes, whom I afterwards met in the Punjab, was in the habit of declaring in his own vehement style both in conversation and on platforms, that the mutiny was in a great measure owing to our wicked reticence about our religion. He used to say that to the Asiatic his religion is the Alpha and Omega of his existence, not a thing to be ashamed of and hidden away—rather a thing to glory in and boast of. Therefore when a powerful race of conquerors who brought with them their literature, their arts, their peculiar habits of life making no secret or mystery of them, but had no word to say about their religion, the conclusion drawn both by Hindoos and Mahomedans was that this was some crafty trick of the English that they might suddenly, and by some underhand means, turn the whole population into Christians. The electric telegraph (new then), the greased cartridge, everything in the way of civilization and improvement was some crafty plot against the old religions of the country. So that the good old Chairman, a man of piety I believe, in forbidding any interference with the native religions was according to Edwardes giving a helping hand to the mutiny."

"My pay," says Mr. Farrer, "as an Assistant Chaplain was the same as a Captain's pay—500 rupees a month, the rupee all through my service being equal to two shillings. A certain



sum, the amount I have forgotten, was deducted for Military and Orphan Funds. I was allowed, as far as I can remember, £150 for passage money and outfit. In India a marching allowance of eight annas a mile was made me for my 1,200 miles in Lahore. In addition to my pay I drew monthly a certain allowance for Church establishment—Soldier Clerk (*chota Padré Sahib!*!)—Bearer, Punkah Coolies, Oil, *Sacramental Elements!* etc. With regard to length of service and pension our term was 15 years after which we could retire on £1 a day pension, a smaller pension if compelled to retire before on medical certificate according to length of service,” and of this latter alternative Mr. Farrer was forced to take early advantage.

On the 1st September 1852 with his newly-married wife, eldest daughter of the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, Vicar of Frome, Mr. Farrer sailed for Calcutta in the *Prince of Wales*, a fine frigate-built ship of Messrs. Green and Co.’s Line. “Being a born sailor,” he writes “I preferred the long voyage round the Cape to the Overland Route and had no cause to regret my choice although we were four months at sea. Our passengers were nearly all dear old John Company’s servants, and a very pleasant lot, about seventy in number. It was a most delightful voyage though almost entirely devoid of interest unless I except a little friendly controversy I had with a C.M.S. missionary, one of four on board. We occasionally had for breakfast certain horrors known as black puddings made of pig’s blood and other things. This man was particularly fond of them and was somewhat surprised and slightly indignant on being taken to task by a young fellow like myself for eating them. I pointed out to him that food of that nature was prohibited by the 1st Council of Jerusalem as recorded in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. To this he demurred and I proposed to submit the question to the Clergy on board. So we held a little Council in the Saloon (called Cuddy in those days) and debated the matter. There were five of us I think and a Dissenting Minister. After a considerable discussion we agreed that the food in question was forbidden to Christians. I may add that I had a good deal of pleasant friendly intercourse with the

Dissenting Minister which resulted in his taking orders in the Church. I believe he was ordained by Bishop Wilson in Calcutta and employed by the Additional Clergy Society. The only book I had at hand to lend him was Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus* by which he was greatly influenced."

The Farrers landed in Calcutta a day or two before Christmas Day and were hospitably entertained for about three weeks by Sir James Colvill, who was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. At that time Mr. Bellew, an Assistant Chaplain and Junior Chaplain of St. John's, was the popular preacher of Calcutta. Bellew resigned in April 1855 and the Service Register of St. John's records a congregation of 1,000 (!) to hear his farewell sermon. In London he found himself as popular as in Calcutta, eventually he romanized and gave himself up to public readings and recitals. Mr. Farrer remembers attending a great missionary meeting in Calcutta presided over by Bishop Daniel Wilson. "The proceedings," he says "were made remarkable to me by the Bishop complaining with tears in his eyes that his orders and wishes did not receive from the C.M.S. (a society he loved) the same attention and respect as they did from S.P.G. This statement made a great impression on me at the time and confirmed me in my attachment to the older society. At this time in company with Bishop Smith of China I visited the S.P.G. Station of Mograhat and Barripore, two villages in the Sunderbuns entirely christianised. I was greatly interested and much struck with the reverence and devout attention of the crowded congregations in Church. Bishop Smith acting for Bishop Wilson confirmed, I remember, a very considerable number of candidates."

Mr. Farrer is a strong partizan of the S.P.G., but he advocates the cause of the C.M.S. from pulpit and platform, having himself witnessed the admirable and successful work of the latter society in Benares, Amritzur, and Peshawar.

At the latter part of Bishop Wilson's rule, Church parties in the Diocese were somewhat sharply opposed. The Bishop, as is well known, favoured the Evangelical side, "accordingly," says Mr. Farrer—"soon after my arrival I was warned that as a high Churchman I should probably be sent to the extreme limit of the Presidency which accordingly came to pass and I

received orders to proceed to Peshawar. This was considered rather hard times even for a so-called Puseyite, and I was let off 300 of the 1,500 miles and permitted to stop short at Meean Meer, the Cantonment of Lahore 1,200 miles from Calcutta. There were no *pucca* roads above Delhi in those days and even between Benares and Delhi especially near rivers and nullahs, there were many miles of broken ground over which driving was dangerous. Though for the matter of that, driving was dangerous on the best roads with the wretched vicious horses then in use on the palki gharries. Indeed we had more accidents and were in greater danger in the more civilized part of the country than when we took to dhoolies on the other side of Delhi. It goes without saying that we were always most hospitably received at the various large stations—Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, etc., etc.—letters of introduction having gone ahead of us from Calcutta. At other times we halted at the Dāk Bungalows where we were fairly comfortable and were always hungry enough to enjoy the *moorghee* curry and *chuppaties* which, after our bath, we found ready for us. At Delhi we found most kind hosts in Captain and Mrs. Douglas, of the Palace Guard, who, with Mr. Jennings, the Chaplain, a most charming man with whom I kept up a correspondence till his death, were the first victims of the mutiny at the hands of the rebels from Meerut. The celebrated and successful Delhi Mission was then passing, if I remember rightly, from having long been a happy dream in dear Jennings' mind into an accomplished fact—two University men being then on their way out to begin the work. Mr. Jennings himself made two distinguished converts before the arrival of the missionaries from England, one of whom was killed in the mutiny, the other escaped and returned to Delhi and did good work there. Mrs. Douglas left Delhi for England through ill-health shortly after this, thus escaping the awful massacre in 1857. She afterwards married Dr. Lightfoot, the Rector of Exeter College, Oxford. I met her in Oxford on my return to England in 1860. At Ferozepore the Hon'ble Tom Ashburnham, a relative of my half-brother, Henry Mitford, was in command of the station and received us most kindly, he was a fine old soldier and a man of real piety."

Mr. Farrer thus describes his first interview with Mr. John Lawrence, afterwards Lord Lawrence,—“One morning early towards the end of March our dhoolies were deposited by our bearers outside a large circular building, an old tomb, on the Lahore road midway between the Civil station of Anarkallie and the Cantonment of Meean Meer, the residence of the already great and renowned John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, who had kindly offered us hospitality until we could settle ourselves in Meean Meer. We were hardly out of our dhoolies shaking the dust out of our clothes when the great man himself in duck trousers and shirt sleeves with a pen behind his ear hurried out with outstretched hands to welcome us. A loud voice, a sun-burnt, strongly-marked face, a rough but kindly manner a tone of decision without rudeness in his orders to our bearers and his own servants made a good deal of the man known to us at the first meeting. We had to learn by degrees how much good strong common sense there was in his head and how much tenderness in his heart. How firmly and wisely he settled and ruled the Punjab in those early days. How he saved our Râj during the mutiny by means of the Sikh troops who were devoted to him. What a noble band of men he gathered round him to help him in his work and to carry it on after his departure—Herbert Edwardes, Montgomery, MacLeod, Raikes, Barnes, Egerton, Nicholson, Chamberlain, and others—this is all matter of history. But the charm of his character, the depth of his piety, his transparent truthfulness and honesty were only known to those who were fortunate enough to hold daily intercourse with him.”

The Cantonment of Meean Meer, at the time Mr. Farrer entered upon his duties there, was reputed to be about the most miserable spot on the map of India. “I have neither the heart nor the ability,” he says, to “recall and describe the wretchedness of it nor the utter discomfort of the squalid little houses (flat-roofed, not thatched bungalows) which were the only ones available until one could build for one’s self.”

With regard to Church services we had not arrived in these days at weekly Celebrations. There was only a monthly Celebration in Meean Meer Church during my tenure of office. On Sundays there was an early parade service for the troops, and

an evening service at sunset. In the week a small number of soldiers used to meet in the Church for prayer and reading by my permission. I attended when I could, and I lent them a volume of sermons to read aloud when I was not there. This privilege was greatly appreciated by the few men of piety in the station as there was no room in the Barracks, either artillery or infantry, where they could meet. The Church was a long low *kutch*a building, hideous to a degree and in the hot weather like an oven—so fearfully hot that I remember George Edmonstone, one of the Punjab Commissioners who happened then to be living in the Cantonment, coming into the vestry one Sunday evening after service with a thermometer in his hand showing the mercury among the nineties and saying “Mr. Farrer you are always at us for not coming to Church. Look, this is my excuse for staying at home.” I did not say to him what Dr. Baddeley, a thick and thin supporter of mine in those days, though rather an extreme Puritan, actually did say: “Yes, it’s very hot certainly, but hell’s hotter.” Soon after my arrival I planned in concert with Major Sharp, who under Robert Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala) was Engineer Officer of the Cantonment, a Church worthy of so large a station. This was built with considerable help from the Government, on John Lawrence’s recommendation, and with very generous subscriptions and handsome gifts, and ready for service early in 1856. Two other very handsome Churches were built about the same time—one at Sialkote where Mr. Sloggett was Chaplain, the other at Umballa under Mr. Mayne. The dedication of our Church was St. Mary Magdalene. I was travelling to London from Oxford not long ago and heard a Cleric in my carriage relating Indian experiences to some people opposite. Amongst others he mentioned a visit to Lahore and spoke of the Church at Meean Meer as being still the most beautiful in India. I couldn’t help saying “I built that Church.” He seemed somewhat incredulous, but after some satisfactory cross-examination my statement was deemed at least probable, and I hope he acquitted me of being an impostor.

An incident too interesting not to be mentioned occurred soon after the opening of our Church. A young Assistant

Surgeon with a very charming newly-married wife arrived at Meean Meer just in time for her confinement. One night my bearer woke me out of a sound sleep to say that a note had come from the Doctor Sahib. It was to this effect: "Please come immediately, I am in great distress." I hurried off at once and found that the poor young creature had been confined and was raving with puerperal mania. It was difficult to say which was in the worse case, he or she. I never saw a man so hopelessly wretched and helpless. I reasoned with her and prayed with her, but without the slightest effect. In that dreadful state she remained like one possessed for I dare say a couple of months. At last a thought struck me which proved to be a very happy one. I suggested that he and a lady friend who had been with her a good deal should bring her to Church and I would meet them there and read the Churching Service. Accordingly they drove to the Church and led her to the altar where I was waiting in my surplice. She knelt down. I read the service. She burst into tears and became perfectly sane from that moment. Had I been a Roman instead of an Anglican Priest a good deal would have been made of this and a new miracle made known to the world. It is an interesting fact anyhow, and might be useful under similar circumstances.

Whilst on the subject of woman-kind I might record here an amusing circumstance that occurred only a few months later during the worst of the mutiny. Our available European force was so small and the mutinous troops in the Station so numerous (two Infantry and one Cavalry Regiment) that General Gowan, Commanding the Division, ordered all ladies and children into an empty barrack with a sufficient European guard over them. Notwithstanding the extreme peril they were in, at any moment we might have been simply overwhelmed and utterly destroyed, these ladies chose to quarrel to such a degree and to make such complaints of each other that the General was in despair. No threats or remonstrances were of any avail. At last he came to see me and said "Mr. Farrer, I must make this business over to you. As a teacher of peace and good will your arguments may be stronger than mine. Please go and use your influence with these ladies." Accordingly I entered Room No. 1, made my enquiries and

began my little sermon with some such answer as this "Oh Mr. Farrer, you wouldn't speak like that if you<sup>o</sup>knew what a horrid woman Mrs. X. is; she found my poor little Alice in the verandah and boxed her ears for interfering with her children. Christian or not I cannot be expected to endure that," and so on. In Room No. 2, I began over again with a similar result. "Please, Mr. Farrer, don't talk to me of peace. Can't by any law, human or divine, be expected to put up with what I and my children have to endure at the hands of that woman next door," and so on and so on—something like this stronger or milder as I passed from room to room. So I returned with a heavy heart to make my report to the General. "Well, Sir, have you been successful?" "No, General, not more successful than yourself. The truth of the matter is that we are committing an outrage upon human nature, as it appears to me. God intended women to live with men, General, and not with women; so we had better leave them alone and not attempt the impossible." "Well I suppose you're right," said the old fellow laughing. "The deuce is in it somehow. Good morning."

"Apropos of attempting the impossible there was a good story which I suppose I heard from dear old Jennings at Delhi or from Douglas of the Palace Guard about one of the early Mahomedan Emperors. An old chestnut probably, but I will tell it. This Emperor wisely chose as his Wazeer, a high caste Brahmīn, in order that he might with less trouble influence and govern his Hindoo subjects who were disposed to be unruly. The appointment gave great satisfaction of course to the Hindoos who became so quiet and submissive that the Emperor grew envious of the power possessed by this man. So he sent for him one day and said I intend to become a Brahmin myself, take the necessary steps to have me initiated. The Wazeer prostrated himself and said "Ruler of the Universe and Father of the poor, the thing is impossible, you must be born a Brahmin, you cannot be made one." "Nevertheless I intend to be made one," said the Emperor, "so go away and if in three days you have not discovered some means of admitting me to your caste you lose your head." The next morning the Emperor looking out of a window over the river

saw a poor man struggling vehemently with a donkey to get him into the water and having got him there began with much fuss and trouble to wash him. The Emperor watched the proceedings and was much amused. The next morning he saw the same little comedy acted again and being curious to know what it meant he sent for the Wazeer, related the circumstance and asked for an explanation. "Lord of the Universe," said the Wazeer, "that man is a poor idiot who believes that he can wash his donkey into a horse." "Well, he must be a fool," said the Emperor. "Ah yes," answered the Wazeer, "but not such a fool after all as the Mussulman who thinks he can be turned to a Brahmin." The Emperor with true magnanimity forgave his Wazeer and retained him in his office.

"Talking of Brahmins—whilst at Meean Meer about the time that I was mastering colloquial Hindustani fairly well, two young Brahmins called on me one morning and begged to receive instruction on the Scriptures. I told them I had too much to do already in ministering to my own people to give them any of my time, but they seemed so disappointed, and as there were no *Church* missionaries nearer than Amritzur to refer them to I consented to give them an occasional hour. They attended very regularly for some weeks when they left off coming altogether. I enquired of my bearer, himself a high caste man, if he knew where they came from. He told me they lived with their father a few miles out in the country. Accordingly I got into my buggy one day and drove there and introduced myself to the old gentleman, a man evidently of some means and some importance, and enquired what had become of his sons and why they came to see me no more. He told me I was teaching them too much and that if they continued with me much longer they would become Christians. "Well," said I, "what is your own opinion about Christianity? You are a learned and intelligent man and must have come to some conclusion about it." Looking round him carefully and stealthily, to be sure no one was listening, he said in a loud whisper "Padré Sahib, I believe that Christianity is true." "Then," said I, "why don't you acknowledge yourself a Christian?" "Forgive me Sahib, but it is a foolish question. I am revered and honoured over all this district almost as



God himself. I become a Christian. All my people spit on me and loathe me. And you Christians will not receive me into your society. I must become an outcast and a vagabond. Death were infinitely preferable. No, don't say anything more about it, Salaam." Here I found much to think about. It was an interesting adventure, especially in those days."

"My first experience of Hospital visiting was sufficiently memorable to be recorded. After a pleasant week with John Lawrence I removed to Meean Meer and was entertained most hospitably by Captain and Mrs. Gordon of H.M. 96th, during the time that I was finding and furnishing a house for ourselves. One evening after dinner just at the commencement of the hot weather a coolie arrived from the Hospital with a note from the Hospital Sergeant to say a man was dying and would like to see me. To reach the Hospital I had to cross about 300 yards of treeless sandy *maidan* in a straight line—nothing by day light, but the night was pitchy dark and a storm was brewing. However taking a stick to feel my way I started and had done about half the distance when a vivid flash of lightning revealed to me a disused well of quite 40 feet deep at my very feet—another step and my Indian career would have ended then and there. I found my way at last to the poor fellow's bedside and having performed my office to his profit and comfort I hope, I returned safely home. The next day I buried him and having heard that he was a married man I enquired for the married quarters with the intention of visiting his widow. But the soldier from whom I sought information seemed to think a visit of condolence quite a waste of time and pity. 'Bless you, Sir. She'll be coming to you in a day or two. You needn't trouble to go to her.' 'What will she be coming to me for?' said I. 'To be married, Sir.' 'Married!!' said I with a face of horror. 'Oh yes, Sir, you don't know Indian ways yet. There ain't many women allowed with the Regiment, so the few there are are engaged two and three deep, don't you see; there is not a woman here but what has got, at least, two on her list after her present husband. And very nat'ral, ain't it, Sir? What's a poor woman to do in this blessed country if her husband dies? and there's always plenty of fellows ready to take care of her.' And so it turned

out. It was not many days before a young fellow came to me, as Surrogate, for a license and the following day he married the widow. In a little time I ceased to be shocked at this sort of thing."

When the 96th left the station they were succeeded by H.M. 10th, the crack Regiment of the European forces then in India commanded by the notorious Colonel Franks, a martinet and tyrant of the most pronounced description, though a dashing officer and in a certain sense a fine soldier. He was positively detested by the men and it was said that he had been fired at more than once on parade and had known some narrow escapes. The truth of this rumour was verified by myself in a very disagreeable manner soon after the arrival of the Regiment. Colonel Franks, who was exceedingly proud of the efficiency of the Corps, invited me to ride with him on the Parade ground one morning to see the Regiment manoeuvre. I was, of course, highly gratified until the order came to form in hollow square, the officers in the middle, Franks and myself and a Bugler outside. The command to prepare to receive cavalry was given and immediately afterwards "Fire." There was an unmistakably unpleasant whiz between Franks' head and mine thereupon 'cease firing' was at a sign from Franks sounded by the Bugler and in the coolest manner he rode up to the square and said in his loud clear tones: "Men, one of you just now tried to shoot me. Remember you might have killed the parson which I imagine was not your intention," and so the parade was brought to an end. The matter was talked about for the proverbial nine days and then forgotten. A few years before this in one of the great Sikh battles, Moodkhee I think, a battery was giving much trouble and causing some loss when orders came to Franks to take it at the point of the bayonet. He had been warned that he was to be shot by his own men during the battle, so before putting himself at their head he called out: "Men, I understand you are going to shoot me in this action. I have one favour to ask you, wait until I have got you inside that battery, at the double, march." There was a shout raised "Bravo old Franks. We'll follow you, Colonel," and the battery was taken and Franks not shot. Once he showed his can-

tankerous nature to me. A very large number of the 10th were accustomed to attend the voluntary evening service on Sundays, many more than was usual in H.M. Regiments. From sheer "cussedness" I suppose this was displeasing to Franks and accordingly one Sunday evening I noticed there were no 10th men in Church. On enquiry the next day I was told that a roll-call had been ordered for the very hour of service, no one knew why or wherefore, and that it was to continue every Sunday at the same hour. Accordingly I wrote through the Adjutant to protest and to beg that it might be at some hour that would not interfere with the Church Service. The Adjutant by the way was young Havelock, the present Sir Henry, a very good fellow and friendly to me. A rather unpleasant correspondence ensued in which I threatened to appeal to a higher authority. At length Franks sent me notice that there would be no evening roll-call the following Sunday stating that the men didn't really care to attend Church and that I was making a fuss about nothing. I suppose he thought that the men out of fear of him would not come. The contrary however happened. The Church to the amusement of our little world was literally crammed with 10th men to the evident disgust of the Colonel who for once was present himself. Spite being stronger than fear was on my side and gave me the victory. Soon after this Franks got a Brigade and did good service in the mutiny. I think he was made a K.C.B.

"The 81st followed the 10th and with them came" a most melancholy trying time—a fitting forerunner of the mutiny. The cholera which had been slowly travelling up-country at length reached Meean Meer and remained with us six weeks during which time I was day and night in the various Hospitals and saw 400 Europeans die of it. There was a perfect panic amongst the men, the artillery suffering most. They used to say to me: "Oh let us go into action against any odds, but we can't fight this unseen foe." It will well illustrate the state of mind I was in when I say I found it one night a positive relief when an artillery man was brought into the Hospital with an arm dreadfully injured by the bite of a horse, the flesh and sinews torn off and the bone crushed. There was nothing for it but amputation, a young Assistant Surgeon who happened

to be on duty in the Hospital had to perform the operation, but the half-caste Apothecary who was attending to the sick and dying men of whom there were, perhaps, fifty in various stages of cholera couldn't be spared to help him, the poor fellow having been removed to a small verandah room where there was a bed and a single cocoanut oil lamp. I was therefore called upon to assist as best I could; one thing being absolutely necessary that someone should hold a candle close to the limb, that the Surgeon might have as much light as possible for taking up and tying the artery. Fortunately I was able to go through with it and the operation was successfully performed. I may here relate that during the worst of the cholera when not two per cent. of those seized recovered the Doctor of the 81st was down with it. He sent for a bottle of laudanum and swallowed enough he told me to kill an elephant. He passed into a state of coma in which he remained many hours and came to his senses cured. A risky thing to do but it succeeded."

Mr. Farrer gives the following realistic sketch of the duty and amusements of a chaplain nearly 50 years ago:—"In the hot weather I turned out soon after gun fire as it was getting light. My bearer brought me a delicious cup of hot tea foaming over with goat's milk and a *chupattie*. Either horse or buggy was by that time ready and I rode or drove straight to one of the Hospitals, which all through the hot season were always full. The Doctors were going their rounds. I followed the Doctors and remained a longer or shorter time at each bed according to the man's condition. If any one, very ill indeed, expressed a wish to receive the Holy Communion or was persuaded to receive it, I made arrangements with the Hospital Sergeant to prepare for me later in the day. It took me from 6 o'clock to perhaps 7-30 to visit all not Roman Catholics, for there were no protestant Chaplains in those days, the Anglican Priest had to attend to Presbyterians, Wesleyans and others who gladly accepted his ministrations. From the Hospital I usually passed to the Regimental School and gave some religious teaching to the children. At about 8 o'clock the sun being then at almost its most dangerous position in the sky catching one at the side of the head, I reached home, took off as many clothes as decorum permitted, had my easy chair in

the verandah and enjoyed my *chota hazaree*, bread and butter, tea or coffee, and an unlimited supply of fruit—mangoes, poor things in the Punjab, usually strong of turpentine, melons, quite excellent, flat peaches, small but very good, figs, also small but quite worth eating, and the long mulberry, not worth eating. Fruit of this sort cost next to nothing. Real Bombay mangoes brought packed in ice by running coolies reached one occasionally, Lord William Hay, one of our Commissioners, was sometimes a benefactor in this direction. At about 9 I enjoyed a good deep sleep of a couple of hours. Had my bath followed by a big meal—an early tiffin. Fish from the Ravee quail and teal and some kind of curry being the usual food. Then followed reading and writing. A cup of tea at 4. Then in the buggy to whatever Hospital I had not visited in the morning. Then home for a wash-up and a little smartening and a ride to the 'Course' to hear the Band and meet all one's friends. Perhaps a gallop with a party to the Shalimar Gardens where probably we dined under the orange trees having sent our *bowarches* and *khitmutgars* on ahead to prepare. Then a pleasant ride home in the cool night to bed."

As to spiritual relations with the natives Mr. Farrer says "to a Chaplain in sole charge of a large Cantonment with two, perhaps three, Hospitals to visit daily there was not much time for missionary work nor indeed many opportunities. I have already recorded the somewhat interesting visit paid me by the two young Brahmins who voluntarily sought instruction in the Bible from me and what came of it. I had also a series of remarkably instructive and interesting conversations with a Mussalman gentleman from the City of Lahore, a cousin of the King of Delhi, a most courtly well-bred man who added something to his small income by teaching Persian. It was for that purpose that he regularly visited me for some weeks, but he was too controversial and I had to dismiss him. I learnt no Persian, but I gained some insight into Islam and perceived how all but hopeless the controversy with Mahomedans must ever be. I am unable to record with any accuracy the many interesting but provoking discussions I had with him, but I remember his asking me one day whether there was not a text in the Bible which said "He shall bruise

the nations with a rod of iron and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel." "Sahib, do you consider that a prophecy and it is of whom?" "Yes, certainly, a prophecy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." "But Sahib, it is not true of Jesus Christ, he never did it. He was a good man and a wise teacher, but God gave Him no such power as that. Now we hold it to be a prophecy of our Prophet which in a short time was literally fulfilled." "That is rather a big claim," I said, "to make for the very limited conquests of your Prophet. Of the Son of God, our Blessed Saviour, it is as yet an unfulfilled prophecy. The great day of His temporal victory over the nations of the world is in mercy deferred, but it will come. In the meantime He is in the highest and best sense slowly but surely overcoming the nations by a spiritual victory leading them happy and willing captives to the Gospel." "Ah, that's how you Christians manipulate the Bible! By that spiritual interpretation of yours you make it mean anything you like. We show more reverence for the Word of God and allow it to speak for itself." This was the substance of that day's talk. I wish I could remember more. I had a discussion once with two Mussalmans coming out of the great Musjid at Delhi. After some general talk I asked one of them upon what he rested his hope of salvation he replied "upon my obedience to the will of God." So I turned to the other man and asked him how long he had known his companion. He said "from a child." "What then, has he never displeased God? Never lost his temper or given way to the many temptations that daily and hourly assail us men in this world. Is he really so angelic as his words would imply?" "No, Sahib, I should hardly like to say that. He goes wrong occasionally as we all do." So turning to him I said: "Your friend you see knows something against you. Your conscience, of course, knows more, and God most of all. Were I in your shoes I should not feel that I was standing on a very sure foundation. For my own part I don't trust to my own obedience but in the perfect righteousness of One who represents me before God. Of whom I shall be glad to speak to you." But he lost his temper and would not listen to anything more.

Mr. Farrer narrates two interesting stories relating to Faquirs. "I was once riding," he says, "down to the Plains from Simla by what was then called the old road passing immediately under Subathoo. There was a bridle path leading through a wild overgrown country across the valley to a Dāk Bungalow at the foot of the Hills without going up to Kussowlie and down again. It was not the well-known and much used Bungalow at the foot of the Kussowlie Hill, but one less frequented more to the north. I knew it pretty well and this by-path across the valley also, but unfortunately it was getting dark as I struck into it and in a short time I lost my way hopelessly. I was in a tangled mass of jungle full of tigers and hyæanas. It was a moonless night and I was extremely uncomfortable and my horse not much happier than myself I have no doubt. At last in the distance I spied a light gleaming through the shrubs and after many checks and much tacking to right and left I found myself on the outside of a mud hut with a narrow slit in the wall in which a small oil lamp was burning. There was a small door without a handle barred on the inside. At this I knocked without any result, but getting impatient my blows were heavy enough to convince the inmate that I intended to see him, so the bar was drawn and the ghastly figure of a Faquir smeared with cow dung and ashes, looking all the more uncanny from the time and place, stood before me. I asked him in the colloquial Urdu which I knew fairly well, the way to the Bungalow I wished to reach. Without opening his lips he took my horse by the bridle and let me through rough and smooth for a very considerable distance into a good open road, silent as the grave all the time though I tried all I knew to make him speak. When on the road he pointed to the lights of the Bungalow some distance ahead, let go the bridle and dived into the jungle and vanished. I had my rupee in my hand and called him to come back and take it, but in vain. I trust he reached his hut before a tiger had him."

The other reminiscence is as follows :—"A very beautiful and touching instance of the highest charity on the part of a Faquir during the mutiny was much talked of, about Meerut and the neighbourhood at the time and I believe it to be true, though

I have forgotten on whose authority it came to my knowledge. A Faquir with a bundle on his arms came to the Cantonment and demanded to be taken before the Brigadier as he had something to make known to him. He was conducted into the Brigadier's presence and unrolling his blanket displayed an English baby alive and well. He reported that on passing through a small station, the name of which I have forgotten, he witnessed a massacre of the European inhabitants which he was powerless to stop, but he snatched up a baby and got well away with it. He had travelled with it many days getting milk for it at the various villages he passed through and he now desired to give it up. The Brigadier spoke some words of commendation and gratitude and requested to know what reward would be most pleasing to him. He said he was sufficiently rewarded in having saved a life, and having no wants, material rewards were of no use to him. But when the Brigadier insisted upon making some return for so noble a deed he answered that there was a road leading to some sacred spot much frequented by Faquirs and Pilgrims where it was impossible to obtain water and much suffering and sometimes deaths ensued in consequence, would the Government cause wells to be dug at intervals on that road? It would be a most acceptable boon to himself and thousands. The Brigadier promised to use his influence with the Government to get it done and the man made his salaam and disappeared. My children say 'But what became of the baby?' Alas! I can't say. Perhaps my good friend, Parker, Principal of the Lawrence Asylum, at Sanawar, had it, but I don't know."

The work at Meean Meer had been exceptionally trying especially in the hot weather of 1856 when the Chaplain saw and ministered to 400 men dying of cholera in six weeks, for which services Mr. Farrer was publicly thanked both by the General Commanding the Division and by Brigadier Corbett, Commanding the Meean Meer Brigade. Such labours and the dangers and sorrows of the mutiny following the next year, resulted in his contracting a very trying illness which quite unfitted him for work in the plains. Just before the fall of Delhi he was appointed to Simla in succession to Mr. Mayne, a charge which he exchanged for Kussowlie at the end of a



year. In 1859 he was sent home on medical certificate for two years, but Sir Ronald Martin, the Company's Physician in London, would not allow him to return, therefore he was forced to retire on a pension of £127 a year.

*III.—Rev. Charles Sloggett, M.A., Rector of Chiddingfold  
in the Diocese of Winchester.*

THE Rev. Charles Sloggett graduated B.A. from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1846. He was ordained Deacon in 1846, and Priest in 1848, by the Bishop of Exeter. Having served a curacy in Cornwall, for but a few months, he was appointed to his Bengal chaplaincy on the recommendation of Sir James Melville, then Secretary of the India House. He sailed on the 20th of January 1849 and arrived in Calcutta on the 7th of March and stayed for a week in the house of Bishop Wilson, who, he says, "was most kind and affectionate." The Bishop then sent him up to Wuzerabad some 60 miles beyond Lahore. This station was then occupied by a considerable force of H.M. 10th and 24th Foot and 9th Lancers, succeeded by 3rd Dragoons and a force of European Artillery—with 3 Native Regiments of foot and one of Cavalry (4th Lancers).

Here Church services were at once commenced by the new chaplain, at first in Field Hospital Tents—then in a large room which had been built as a Mess House, but was given up for this purpose. "Officers and men alike were most kind and helpful," writes Mr. Sloggett "especially Major Harley Maxwell, of the Engineers' by whom Hospitals and Barracks were built up with marvellous rapidity, for the European soldiers, before the rapidly approaching hot and wet seasons. The officers, too, were all employed in providing similar shelter for themselves, and I was fortunately enabled to purchase quarters in the staff lines than in rapid course of completion, their owner having been ordered home on sick certificate. The Hospitals were crowded with patients after the recent campaign, but I had no difficulty in holding weekly services in the whole five by turns, then used by Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry soldiers. Funerals were of daily occurrence at the two Burial Grounds on the extremities of the station lines some seven miles apart, but by the help of an excellent pony, with

a buggy and another larger animal, I was enabled to manage very well for the first two years or more.

Then with the coming of the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier, it was determined to remove about half the force to Sialkote, to which station, the remaining part of the force was sent in the course of a few years, while the former station of Wuzeerabad could probably be only now discovered by the bases of two handsome brick pillars which had been built before the intended change of station as the commencement of a large and fine station church. Wuzeerabad, however, was continued for a few years until permanent buildings could be erected at Sialkote, situated on the borders of the Cashmere provinces. One of the first of these public buildings was the fine church in the centre of the staff lines, which was pushed on by Major Harley Maxwell with such determination and success as to be completed and opened for service just before Christmas 1854. It was consecrated in the Name of the Holy Trinity, and accommodated a congregation of 700. I had been removed to Sialkote permanently some two years previously, when the work at Wuzeerabad was carried on by my excellent and able successor, the Rev. J. Cave Browne.

The work of building the Sialkote church was much helped by a freely offered gift by the Rajah Golab Singh, of all the timber of which might be required for it, and which we were permitted to accept by Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor-General. The letter of the Rajah is no longer in my possession, but I have not forgotten the remarkable sentence in it. What he said, was as follows : the address being to Major Maxwell who also had been sent to Sialkote, and by whom, an immense quantity of timber had been required, and duly paid for, in the erection of the new and fine public buildings. After compliments, then, and now commonly used, it went on, "your unworthy servant, being himself a believer in the Deity, and hearing that your honourable and distinguished self is now engaged in the erection of a temple for the worship of the God in Whom you believe, requests your condescending acceptance of the few sticks he is able to offer in aid of so good a work : " a few sticks for the building and furniture, meaning a supply of the best and finest wood, sent at the Rajah's cost to the site

of the building, and which to have bought, would have cost some five thousand rupees. The distinguished and able Governor-General in conveying his consent, required to be exactly informed in this respect, of the whole character of the transaction, lest there might have been any previous pressure, or other unworthy cause, by which the Rajah might have been influenced in what he did respecting it; and in writing as I was requested to do, to give to him my own private account of it, I was enabled to prove to His Excellency, the perfect purity, and motive, of both the high contracting persons, in what had been so gratuitously and so unexpectedly given, and so thankfully accepted.

The mention of this leads to another circumstance which it may, perhaps, be useful to record. Before that time, when churches had been built in existing stations, the largest part of the funds had to be obtained through private resources. But the annexation of the new territory in the Punjab, leading to the necessity of taking up new stations, and of removing from some of the older ones, after much consideration of the Government with the Bishop and Archdeacon in Calcutta, led, under Lord Dalhousie, to the following declaration: "that where troops and other servants of the Government were employed, and churches required for Christian worship, it should be looked upon as a distinct and acknowledged principle, that the Government would provide for the construction of the whole fabric, and fit it for its intended purpose, in an absolutely plain and simple manner; but if more than this were desired by those using it, as in ornamentation of any kind, all this must be provided for, at the cost of those desiring it." No better illustration can be given of the working of this rule than in the case of the large and handsome church built at Meean Meer under the chaplaincy of the Rev. Frederic Farrer two or three years after that at Sialkote. Instead of a common plain Font, the good, and ever to be respected Sir Robert Montgomery, placed in the Church a Noble Font of white marble, which is still, I believe, its most beautiful adornment.

The rule is so manifestly fair and good for all concerned that it is probably still acted upon. The Sialkote Church so built, was the first erected in the whole of the Punjab.

In 1855 I was sent by Bishop Wilson to take up the chaplaincy at Simla, where the Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Gomm then resided, who, with his admirable consort Lady Gomm, was the helper and benefactor of that beautiful station. The small plain church then existing there was without an Organ. On my arrival there I found a new gallery in course of erection and heard that an Organ had been purchased at cost of £600, and was soon expected. It came a month or two afterwards, when Lady Gomm, with resident ladies and gentlemen formed one of the best church choirs I have ever listened to, both from its superior excellence, and the reverence, and felt power of religion pervading all its members. The instrument had come so carefully and correctly marked and explained that it was put up without much difficulty. For the former Musical services at Wuzeerabad, a fine choir was trained and kept up for *viva voce* singing, without instruments by Colonel Hope Grant, of the 9th Lancers.

In 1857, came the outbreak of the Great Mutiny; I had been removed previously to Dagshaie at the Commander-in-Chief's suggestion; and was there when we first heard of it. The Regiment of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers was moved off at 24 hours' notice, so that, beyond a few families, the station was at one swoop deprived of almost all its inhabitants. Knowing that communications were stopped on the way to Calcutta, I wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor, then Sir John Lawrence, volunteering my service with the Force marching to the siege of Delhi. After an interval he replied by saying that he had written to the Governor-General, recommending the appointment, and that in the meantime I must stay at my post; for, ere long, invalids and wounded men would certainly be sent up to the Hospitals in that cooler invigorating climate. And come they did, until the Hospitals were almost filled, communications were stopped with Calcutta, and I had to remain till the end.

Soon after the departure of the Regiment from Dagshaie, a Company only having been left behind, I witnessed a remarkable illustration of the way in which strong and brave men may become self-deceived, and suppose things had happened which had no other foundation, than an excited,

overworked, distempered imagination. Walking with a calm able engineer officer, who with others had come to Dagshaie from Simla, after a scare which had been set up there of a threatened uprising of the Ghoorka Regiment, we saw presently a man we both recognised, riding at the top of his speed; and as he met us, beckoning that we should follow him, he went down a little path to the house of the Colonel Commanding, Colonel Welchman. On running after him, the first words we heard him utter were "all Simla is massacred!" Other officers had rushed in with us who also heard it. He told us how, after he had been 20 hours in the saddle, he had come to a place we all knew, I forget the name, about 6 miles distant, on that still Sunday morning whence Simla was full in view on the other side of the long deep valley yet to be passed over. Then on the instant, he saw that an attack had commenced on the centre of its rapidly constructed defences.

His own house commanding the roadway and pass into the station had just been set on fire, and the assailants were partly hidden in the smoke. Then, for a few minutes, two sustained volleys had been given by the defenders, after which all seemed silent, as he was too distant to hear what was going on. To him there was but one possible solution. The enemy had penetrated the slender obstruction and were now engaged in massacre. But he said, many flying ladies with their children *must now* be hastening down by various hill paths to the shelter here awaiting them, but only to be butchered by their savage pursuers unless help could be sent at once to defend them. "Tired as I am," he said, "give me the Company now here, and the aid of all who will volunteer, and I will undertake, even now, to go and rescue them, knowing as I do every foot of the various pathways." The Colonel replied, "I will not give you a man, Sir!" "What," he said, "will you endure it that our poor ladies should not be defended with their children?" "No Sir!" was the reply, "nor will I allow *you* to repeat your words. If they be true words, then with my small force it will be hardly possible to hold the ground on which we stand! We *could not* help the others, but could only expose ourselves, and the great number from Simla already arrived here, to certain destruction!" Time passed on,

measures were taken at once for all the residents to go into well situated defences, in two of the Hospitals—and this was done accordingly. For the first time and the last, I carried a loaded pistol to help to guard the feeble defences. The night however passed in silence. Next morning in the early dawn, I sent out scouts to see what had happened, but ere long they returned with the same story that all in Simla had been quiet and gone to church. Yet the officer, who had left us soon after his agitated story and gone to Kussowlie, was a man of distinguished ability, and afterwards was highly distinguished for bravery in action. He must have had a waking sleep, produced by over fatigue, with his whole thoughts engaged in imagining what would happen if the native soldiers should rebel, until his exhausted nature was no longer able to guide his reason.

In course of time, by God's Blessing, the country became quieted—things were restored to their old position, and I was directed to proceed at once to take up the chaplaincy at Lahore where I remained, at the Civil Station of Anarkulle for more than five eventful years. One of my first duties was to use my comparative leisure, where all the great and good officers were overworked, by getting up a fund for helping many poor afflicted ones to get once more to their English homes in peace and safety. Every claim was met, and well enquired into by the Committee, who had been appointed to assist me. A year or two after succeeded a fearful visitation of Cholera—especially among the soldiers at Meean Meer, and in the Fort of Lahore. For some three months the work and labour were incessant. Very few of those recovered who were first attacked : but afterwards there were more recoveries. Out of H. M. 52nd Regiment of Foot, nearly a quarter perished ; a wing of the 93rd was even more severely dealt with ; the European Artillery in about the same ratio as the 52nd. The soldiers behaved on the whole most admirably—although it became desirable to bury many by night, in which duty I was always warmly helped by my dear friend, Mr. Taylor, of the Civil Service. Soon orders came to remove men in troops day by day to new ground—and by this means the fell pestilence became at last ended.

A year or two afterwards came another call for help to the famishing people round Delhi and in other parts, for which I was first appointed Secretary, and by permission of Bishop Cotton, was sent by the Lahore Government to go to the afflicted districts, and organise measures for more general and successful relief; money was freely sent to the extent of their resources by our generous and high minded countrymen, who, I believe, are, of all other nations, the most self-denying, and bountiful in their charities when the need is fully explained to them. I was supported in every possible way by Sir Robert Montgomery, the Lieutenant-Governor, who, with the highly beloved Finance Commissioner, Sir Donald MacLeod, accompanied me to the districts round Delhi where the famine was at the worst. Meanwhile money had been flowing in, and large sums sent, from London by the Lord Mayor, until they agreed with my suggestion for what I believe should be a principle of all such undertakings, that our first care should be to give a *sufficiency of food to every needy supplicant* to the extent of, our present resources, any thing short of this is but weakness. People who give will give again, or find other helps so long as the need lasts. The result was that in May 1861 we were feeding in the several districts of starvation, no less, daily, than one hundred and five thousand persons; many of whom, as I had before seen, especially the women in their first wretchedness, standing out in the high places, holding up the linen cloth which all wore as raiment, to catch, in the strong hot wind, after holding it more than an hour, about half a tea cup full of the small innutritious seeds which the wind blew with it.

By God's Blessing much good followed our proceedings. Not only in saving the lives of the majority in many large districts; not only in placing a check upon the advancing prices until what little food remained in private hoards could not be bought by the starving and impoverished ones, but also by the moral effects upon the minds of all the people. The two Mr. Berkley's of the Civil Service who were sent with me, and who in everything assisted me, and without whom I could have done nothing advantageously, were present when we were giving out one of the accustomed doles before one of

the hitherto unvisited towns, when two of the chief men came out and addressed me. "Sir," they said, "the time is only as yesterday, when in the mutiny, the people of this town, and other neighbouring towns, came out and chased some of your flying English people with scorn and ignominy, as they were trying to reach some place of refuge in their distress. You come, Sir, sent by your fellow countrymen, to bring food and life to those who behaved so cruelly: this will make our people believe that your religion is true and noble, and you will be blessed accordingly."

After completing this great work, I was sent from Lahore to Nynee Tal partly to recruit my energies; and from there I returned to England in May 1864, and have nearly lived out the remainder of my life in country towns and parishes, by the good Providence of my Heavenly Father. I hardly knew what it was in India, to have a serious illness; I received the greatest kindness from all I ever met there; and I can truly say that up to the time when I left the country, with great advantages of knowing what was done for the people over whom God has placed us, that upon the whole, no country upon the face of this earth has been more justly and faithfully governed. Often too as before mentioned, this has been said to me by other natives from their own experience of the upright honourable character of our country's Legislation.

Besides the organization of famine relief Mr. Sloggett had another special and important work consigned to him. "A worthy brother Chaplain, Mr. Ellis, suggested to me" he says "that it would be beneficial both to ourselves, and all our brethren, if I could draw up some plan to which they could all agree, for obtaining a higher pension, by a sort of general sacrifice. He thought that if all agreed to give up the expectation of the higher emoluments then paid to the two presidency chaplains so long as they remained in Calcutta, all alike would derive a benefit. Work being light at Simla in the winter season, I set myself to the work—writing first to every chaplain, not one of whom but agreed to the suggestion, and then obtaining the consent of Bishop Wilson, and his worthy and talented Archdeacon Mr. Pratt. By these it was earnestly taken up, and recommended to Government, by



whom also it was readily supported, and referred to the India Office at home. Here too it was most successful—no loss accrued to Government, the increased payments to the two presidency chaplains when done away with, made up a sufficiency of funds, there were many other good reasons for the measure and none against it, thus the scheme progressed until after my own return to England and I had brought the matter once more home to Government, I had the satisfaction of being informed by a letter from the Home Office, that the measure had been at length decided upon, and the chaplains' retiring pensions increased to the amount now given. It may be mentioned here also, that in the original appointments of our body, as I believe of all other covenanted branches, the retiring pay was put down in Sterling money, which remains a fixed and definite home allowance."

On returning home Mr. Sloggett served a curacy again for five years. In 1869 he was preferred to the Vicarage of St. Bartholomew, Hyde, Winchester. In 1878 the Lord Chancellor presented him to his present cure, the Rectory of Chiddingfold near Godalming in the Winchester Diocese.

*IV.—The Rev. Thomas Cartwright Smyth, D.D., LL.D.,  
Chaplain of the Coatham Convalescent Home, Redcar.*

THE Rev. T. C. Smyth graduated in Mathematical Honours in 1843 from St. Catherine's, Cambridge (of which College he was a scholar). In the following year he was ordained both Deacon and Priest in the Bishoprick of Durham and served in succession the parishes of Long Benton and St. Andrew's and St. Nicholas's, Newcastle-on-Tyne, until he obtained in 1849 his appointment as a Company's Chaplain in Bengal. Mr. Smyth received, as was then the rule, £150 for his passage and outfit and sailed for India in the ship *Marlborough*. The length of the voyage, he says, was 96 days from pilot to pilot.

Mr. Smyth arrived in Calcutta on the 29th November 1849 and was shortly afterwards sent by Bishop Wilson to Agra in the N.-W. P. where he ministered in the Cantonment and officiated in the fine Church of St. George, which had been built in 1829 to accommodate a congregation of 1,100 soldiers.

Dr. Smyth speaks of the Civil Lines Church at Agra (in charge of another Chaplain) as being about two miles distant from St. George's. This must have been the predecessor of the present St. Paul's which was not built until 1855.

At St. George's in Dr. Smyth's time the only services were Matins and Evensong on Sundays with a Celebration of the Holy Communion once a month. There was a Soldiers' Chapel in the Infantry lines and in this service was held on Wednesday evenings. While the Artillery were out in Camp during the cold weather the Chaplains provided their parade service in the early mornings.

"I believe" writes Dr. Smyth "the only daily services and weekly celebrations before the mutiny were established at Delhi by the Chaplain, the Rev. M. J. Jennings, who was murdered there on 11th May 1857, the day after the outbreak at Meerut."

In 1849 there were four out-stations attached to Agra; Muttra (which has now a Chaplain of its own); Myapoorie (where a little Church was built in 1849,—now served from Tundla); Aligarh (now in the hands of the C.M.S.) and Morar, Gwalior, (the only remaining out-station of St. George's). These four stations were visited alternately, once in three months, by the Civil Lines' and Cantonment Chaplains. "My mode of travelling to Gwalior" says Dr. Smyth "by Shigram, a kind of spring cart on two wheels; drawn by bullocks, on account of the difficult state of the roads; to the other places by dāk gharries." "The allowance for travelling" he writes "to and from out-stations, was 12 annas a mile, 8 annas a mile being the sum granted on joining a station. But a Chaplain when proceeding to Calcutta on leave or on returning from furlough did not receive any travelling allowance."

After a residence of four years at Agra, Mr. Smyth was appointed to the Chaplaincy of Mussoorie and Dehra for two years, living in the winter at the latter station. In January 1856 he was posted to Meerut as the Senior Chaplain; two Chaplains then being stationed there. On the outbreak of the mutiny the Junior Chaplain, Mr. Rotton was sent to Delhi as Chaplain to the beseiging forces. Mr. Smyth remaining at Meerut in sole charge.

Meerut was then the largest Military Station in India, and, scarcely excepting Peshawar, the strongest in European troops of all arms, and consequently the least likely to be the scene of any native *émute*. Meerut, however, as a contemporary Chaplain of Dr. Smyth and Dr. Rotton,—the Rev. J. Cave-Browne, still like them happily continuing in the work of the ministry in England,—testifies \* “was to be the crater from which with lava-force the long gathering and pent up stream of mutiny was to burst forth and desolate the North-West.” On the morning of Saturday, the 9th of May, eighty-five troopers of the 3rd Native Light Cavalry were put in irons and imprisoned for refusing to touch the new pattern cartridges; although the order about biting off the ends had been rescinded two months before. That day and the next the rest of the native troops were orderly and respectful and useful. The only remarkable circumstance being that the Cantonment that night was free from bungalow-burning; but treason was working desperately in secret. Chaplain Cave-Browne thus describes what follows :—

“On the Sunday evening (10th May) soon after six o'clock while the church-going portions of the community were preparing for service, a large body of the 3rd Cavalry turned out without orders, mounted and galloped off to the jail, here they met with no resistance, and having liberated all the prisoners, some fourteen hundred in number, they brought off their comrades, fetters and all in triumph to their own lines, where a blacksmith was soon busy filing off their irons. The other troopers of the 3rd had not been idle; hastening to the bungalows of their own officers and others they were soon engaged in the work of bloodshed and plunder.” The officers of all three native corps did their utmost to restrain and pacify their men, but many of them were slain. Colonel Finnis of the 11th N. I. (a corps which remained almost wholly loyal), was the first to fall, then Captain Macdonald “Happily,” as Mr. Cave-Browne remarks “spared all knowledge of the indignities and agonies to which his poor wife was to be subjected.”—Thus the flood-gates of order were forced and “the torrent swept on in overwhelming flood over the doomed

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\* “The Punjab and Delhi in 1857,” London, 1861.

station. The liberated prisoners poured in from the jail; the city and the bazars had already belched forth their blood-thirsty butchers and vagabonds, who, as by preconcerted arrangement, were at hand to take up the work of conflagration and massacre. The whole of the Southern portion of the Cantonments was in their hands, and here they revelled in the most ruffianly cruelty, and glutted themselves, in the death-throes of their victims. The atrocities perpetrated on defenceless ladies, men speak of even now in suppressed whispers '[this passage was written in 1861]' and shudder at this recollection. From that part of the station volumes of smoke were seen rolling up, while flames, glaring and flickering along the roof of some blazing bungalow, shed a ghastly gloom over the darkening twilight, and although nature sought to shed a pall over the agonies of those helpless unoffending victims long did the human fiends hold their orgies unrestrained." Why unrestrained, with the 6th Dragoon Guards, the 1st Battalion of H. M. 60th Rifles, a troop of horse and a company of foot artillery and a field battery in the station?—It is a question with which historians deal in one way or another. By the next day the Europeans, nearly 2,000 strong, took measures to defend themselves and the mutineers marched unopposed upon Delhi.

A contemporary account by the Rev. Mr. Smyth is as follows :—\*

"All remained quiet until the evening of Sunday, the 10th of May, when I was driving down to Church as usual (distant about a mile from my house) for the 7 P. M. service, and met on my way two of H. M. 60th Rifles covered with blood and supported by their comrades. On reaching the Church I found buggies and carriages driving away in great confusion, and a body of people running to me and pointing to a column of fire and smoke in the direction of the city, frequent shots were then heard and the cries of a large mob. My colleague, the Rev. Mr. Rotton and his wife came up at the moment; but finding that the people had all gone back, we abandoned of course the intention of commencing divine service, and I drove home, . . . . . Mr. Rotton and I have

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*N.A.*—\* Chick's Annals of the Indian Rebellion. Calcutta, 1858, p. 103.

buried thirty-one of the murdered, but there are others whose bodies have not yet been brought in."

Of the nature of Mr. Smyth's duties during the mutiny at Meerut the following extract from a testimonial signed eight months later by the whole of the European residents of Meerut will give some idea :—

"The fearful tragedy of the 10th May, 1857, the occurrences of the following morning, and the scenes, through which we subsequently passed, appalling even the stoutest hearts, can never be effaced from our recollection. But, when remembering those scenes, how can we forget your unwearied and incessant exertions during that harassing period, to fulfil worthily the duties of your sacred calling? The constant visitation of the sick; the establishing of the relief fund, which had its origin with you, and its attendant duties; and last, though not least, your voluntary daily ministry in the fortified square, will ever be remembered by us with feelings of deep affection. Firmly assured are we, that those fervent aspirations which, in that season of peculiar trial and anxiety, ascended to the throne of the Most High, were not disregarded by Him, who can save by many or by few."

Early in February 1858, Mr. Smyth was transferred to Singapore, a station and port then belonging to the Hon'ble Company and where the Chaplain (who was always, when appointed, no higher than sixth on the list of Assistant Chaplains in order to prevent too frequent changes) received the pay of a full Chaplain Rs. 800 a month, on account of the extra cost of living. The Chaplain of Penang was appointed under the same conditions.

"Shortly after my arrival at Singapore," says Dr. Smyth "the British residents had subscribed to establish a Mission there, under the name of St. Andrew's Mission, S.P.G. and C.M.S. having declined to do so, owing to lack of funds. There were two sets of converts in the station; Chinese, of whom some 50,000 were living in the island and 'Achings,' the descendants of Madras native settlers. Separate Chapels were built for each and native Catechists were placed in charge of the two congregations under the Chaplain. Weekly reports were brought to me of all connected with the work of the Mission

and monthly celebrations were held by me in each of the Chapels. I preaching at such times, with the Catechist as interpreter. I need scarcely mention that no converts were admitted to Baptism until after a course of careful preparation. The charge of this Mission was very interesting, and was blest with more success than missionary work in many of the large stations and districts in India."

Falling sick in the summer of 1860, Mr. Smyth left Singapore on furlough to England ; while at home he received at Cambridge the degree of B.D. and at Dublin the degree of D.D. He returned to Calcutta towards the close of the following year. After officiating at Dum-Dum for five or six weeks, he was sent to Ferozepore, where he remained for nearly three years.

"A Native Regiment" he writes, "the 23rd Bengal Infantry formed part of the troops then stationed at Ferozepore. Sometime before they had been quartered at Peshawar, where a C.M.S. Missionary, Mr. Clark, had succeeded in making some converts among them ; but afterwards they had been destitute of any spiritual supervision. I naturally took an interest in such of them as continued Christians and had an afternoon service on Sundays for their benefit as frequently as possible. When Bishop Cotton visited Ferozepore in 1864, I presented 16 of the Regiment (including women) for Confirmation ; 300 of their comrades requesting permission to attend the Church upon that occasion. This incident is mentioned in the Bishop's life, written by his widow."

"The same year," he continues, "I was kindly recommended by Bishop Cotton to the Government for appointment to a second Hill Station, the chaplaincy of Simla, in consequence of the trying nature of my service during the mutiny. The number of English residents there necessitated the holding of three Sunday services in the Church and a week day service, besides Bible Classes, during the summer. In the winter of 1864 I went to Calcutta and officiated there for about two months as Senior Chaplain of St. John's Church and acted as Commissary on the death of Bishop Cotton, and in the absence, up-country, of Archdeacon Pratt."

On retiring from the service in 1867 Dr. Smyth sailed for England. He returned to England, on retiring from the

service, in the troopship *Winchester* (the time of the voyage being three months and a half) with the Headquarters of the 98th Regiment. £100 being then allowed to a clergyman in spiritual charge of soldiers proceeding home *via* the Cape. The privilege of passes in troopships has been since unfortunately lost to Indian Chaplains. In 1868 he was preferred to the Vicarage of St. Chad's, Far Headingley, in the neighbourhood of Leeds, which he held for nearly twenty-three years, and after a retirement of two years and a half Dr. Smyth undertook the chaplaincy of the Convalescent Home, Coatham, Redcar.

V.—*The Rev. John Edward Wharton Rotton, LL.D.; D.D.*

DR. ROTTON was ordained Deacon in 1846, the year after he had graduated from Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He received the Priesthood the year following, while serving the Curacy of St. Martin's, Birmingham. In 1849 he was removed to the Curacy of Coleshill, in the same diocese of Worcester, and after rather more than a year's service here he was appointed an Assistant Chaplain to the H. E. I. C. He sailed from England on the 20th November 1850 and his rank therefore dates from that day. His passage he says cost him over £100: the Company then gave a Chaplain £150 for passage and outfit. On arrival in Calcutta on the 4th of January following, he was sent by Bishop Wilson to serve the Arracan Chaplaincy of Akyab with Kyouk-Phyoo. At the latter station a Church (St. John the Baptist's), now closed had been built in 1846, but at Akyab there was no Church, the present St. Mark's not having been built until 1855, and Divine Service had to be held in the Magistrate's Cutcherry. "Here" writes Dr. Rotton, "I had my first experiences of cholera; which confined its ravages to the European community. And after killing every one attacked, excepting the Civil Surgeon who resolutely refused all medicines and treated himself with water only, spent its vengeance on the natives, killing large numbers of that community daily. The duration of this epidemic in 1852 lasted, between the two quarters" [European and native] "for well nigh two months."

"In Arracan" says Dr. Rotton, "I found the American Baptists had a large Mission established for many years before my advent to the Province, presided over by a learned and well-known and devoted American Missionary with two assistants on his staff. The three worked heart and soul for the cause, their wives being excellent helpmates to each of them. Under these circumstances, for me to do there," [in the way of missionary endeavours] "nothing was possible but to give the work my sympathy and prayers notwithstanding important differences existing between myself and them."

At the end of 1852 he was transferred to Meerut, arriving early in 1853. Here he says, "I found all arms of the service, artillery, British cavalry, and European infantry, with the addition of Bengal cavalry and infantry;—the officers and their families only of the Bengal troops being part of my spiritual charge. The work was incessant. The year 1854 proved to be a year of intolerable heat, and the garrison were attacked with *coups de soleil*, which smote the 81st with unrelenting fury. This corps was only just out from England and lost large numbers of men, women and children, partly from the sun and partly from the treatment received when they were stricken. The doctors had recourse to bleeding, a treatment never used before in India, so Dr. Rotton says, as a remedy for sunstroke. "This proved certain death, in every case but one, and he only was saved by stopping the arteries first and then freely using the *mussack* on the head and spine." Besides the ordinary Chaplain's week-day duties,—Visitation of Hospitals, School teaching, Soldier's Chapel Services and so forth, the Clergyman of a large station like Meerut was frequently summoned by day and night to perform his spiritual duties in sudden cases of cholera as well as for these fatally treated sunstroke sufferers.

"In 1856" he continues, "we had a severe epidemic of cholera commencing on the 30th of June and lasting to the 30th of August and again in 1861 another attack. The attack in 1856 and 1861 differing in this respect that in the former year we lost mostly men, while in the latter year, mostly women and children."



On Sundays in Meerut in 1854 during the hottest weather two parade services were held in succession, namely, at 4 and 5 A.M. The "station service" was provided in the late afternoon.

"In Meerut," says Dr. Rotton, "I regret to say we only had monthly Communion and alas! no daily Matins and Evensong."

"St. John's Church at Meerut," he adds, "was the first Chaplaincy Church built in the N.-W. P. and was consecrated by Bishop Heber. [in 1824] it is a large and commodious building with a spire. Nothing more can be said for it. I tried to get Transepts, the Executive Engineer supporting the cause, but we were only snubbed for our zeal by the N.-W. P. Government." This Church, which may have been enlarged since Dr. Rotton's day now accommodates 2,000 troops.

In January 1856 Mr. Rotton welcomed his Senior Colleague in the work of his huge parish, Mr. T. C. Smyth. The Chaplains, however, were not the only Clergymen in Meerut at this time, for Dr. Rotton writes that he found there "a long established C.M.S. Mission with [a Church and] two ordained missionaries and catechists, in all of whom" he says "I thought more devotion might have benefited the holy cause so dear to our Blessed Master. Perhaps I was wrong in the thought."

Shortly after the outbreak of the mutiny at Meerut, Mr. Rotton was appointed Chaplain to the Delhi Field Force and his experiences are fully narrated in his book published in London in 1858 entitled "*The Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi.*" Of the actual outbreak he writes in this memoir "no disturbance was reported until late in the afternoon of Sunday, the 10th of May. The first intimation that I received of the outbreak was from a female servant, who came to my wife, and said to her with very anxious and troubled looks 'O, Madam don't go to Church this afternoon.' The carriage was then at the door, ready to take us to Church, and the service was appointed to commence in a quarter of an hour from the time this speech was made. Hearing this singular request addressed to my wife, I naturally enough inquired 'why should not Madam go to Church, this evening?' The servant

replied, 'Because there will be fight,' I asked, 'Who will fight?' The woman answered, 'The Sepoys.'"

Of course, I could not give any credence to such a statement. I had to preach in the evening and had been in my study all day long in course of preparation. There was nothing for me now to do but to hasten to Church and to quiet my wife's fears. I consented to both the children accompanying us in the carriage, together with this faithful servant who was to take charge of them in the Church compound, while Divine Service was being solemnized. This was the only precaution I felt it necessary to take, in connection with our servant's statement: as to weapons, fire-arms, or sword or anything more effective than a walking cane, the same I used at Cambridge, I had none; nor did I much fear that during my whole service in India, I should ever want more, either for the protection of myself or family, I was soon convinced, however, that there was some credit due to the servant's statement. The sounds of musketry, and the pillars of smoke ascending into the air, and proceeding from the burning bungalows, or houses, in the native lines of cantonment forced upon me the conviction that mischief had already commenced. By and by, I heard the Rifle bugles sound the alarm and assembly. The cantonment was now evidently in motion—troops were assembling, and people congregating, the Church parade dispersed, and was converted into a general assembly of troops of the three arms. Amid all this energy, there was one thing which has apparently impressed every one—the delay in leading the troops from the grand parade ground to the scene of mutiny and bloodshed. The native soldiery, and the fellows of baser sort in the bazaars, had ample time to commit the greatest outrages, in consequence of this simple fact."

On the 27th of May Mr. Rotton left his wife and family at Meerut and departed with the small detachment of troops from the station, to join the force which was to besiege Delhi, he says—

"After three nights' marching we reached Ghazeeoddeen-nuggur, a small but very strongly-fortified position on the river Hindun, near which we took up our encampment. It

was now the 30th of May. The hot winds were prevailing and both man and beast in camp were feeling their power and intensity. The presence of an enemy nearer to us than Delhi, which was a distance of some nine or ten miles, never occurred to any one. Indeed why should such a thought occur when our vedettes were on the look out and *reported* nothing? Numbers of our officers, likewise, led by curiosity, had either strolled on foot or ridden on horseback, soon after our arrival, in the immediate vicinity of the camp ground, and saw nothing? No wonder, then, we should imagine ourselves out of harm's reach; at any rate for the present. The day was passed as weary men, I presume, generally pass a hot day in camp, in the plains of India—in conversation and in sleep. It was nearing four o'clock when the vedette rode in, and announced the fact that we were about to be attacked. The news took us by surprise, and the bugles of the British camp had barely time to call to arms, when the enemy's artillery opened upon us. The Rifles had scarcely formed, when an eighteen-pounder shot came bounding into camp. This shot took off one leg of each of two native palkee-bearers, who were sitting at the tent door of the Carabineer's Hospital." Then ensued a brief but fierce engagement in which the 700 Englishmen put to flight the disciplined army of more than seven times their number by which they had been attacked, and captured their five guns and also cars full of entrenching tools. A graphic account of this action is given in Mr. Rotton's book.

The next day, 31st May, 1857 was Whitsunday. There was no Church parade. The early hours were occupied in burying the dead. Mr. Rotton says, "A babool tree, a little in the rear, and a mile stone (either the 8th, 9th or 10th from Delhi) a little above, and situated on the main road between Meerut and Delhi mark the spot."

At mid-day that Sunday the little force was again attacked by the mutineers who again were routed, but the excessive fatigue of our troops prevented them from following up the retreating enemy.

"Only those present on the occasion" writes Mr. Rotton, "can form any idea of the power of the rays of the sun during the day. They smote like the fiery blasts of the furnace. The

sufferings of the soldiers must have been something terrible, and beyond anything which they had ever experienced, in or out of India, before.....Amid all this heat the fight was at its very fiercest. Moreover it continued very long. Some were sunstricken, some, slain, and a few, whose cruel thirst induced them to slake it in water provided by the enemy, in vessels [left in the adjacent village] containing strong corrosive poison, were thus deprived of life."

In this part of his book Mr. Rotton pays an enthusiastic tribute to the gallantry of the 60th Royal Rifles in the course of which he says, "whether as a parent or as a Christian Minister, without a moment's misgiving I would say: if a son of mine *must* be and *will* be a soldier, I hope he may have the good fortune to learn his profession, and continuously exercise it too, in no other regiment than the 60th Royal Rifles."

At 1 A.M. on Monday, the 8th of June, the camp at the Hindun was struck and the force marched on the mutineers' entrenched position at Badlee-ki-Serai which was attacked at dawn. Mr. Rotton gives a stirring account of the action which resulted in the total rout of the rebels and the capture of twelve guns, and all their ammunition, stores and tents. By sunset the force had encamped outside Delhi, beside the now famous Flag Staff Tower on the old sepoy parade ground. On that spot remained the headquarters of the British force until the end of September,—the very worst period of the year for life in tents anywhere in the plains of India. From these headquarters batteries were served commanding the approaches from the city, but with the smallness of the British numbers it was found impossible to advance any battery nearer than 1,500 yards of the walls and breaching was impossible.

On the 9th of June the first instalment of the Punjab native reinforcements, sent by Sir John Lawrence arrived. This was the renowned "Guides Corps." They had actually in their march covered 600 British miles in 22 days, and they appeared in camp "in perfect order and fitted for immediate service in the field." That same morning cholera first appeared in the camp.

The enemy continually issued from the city to attack the besiegers. "Nothing," writes Mr. Rotton, "could exceed the

pertinacity, with which the enemy continued their attack. The earliest days of encampment before Delhi were, unquestionably, the most trying and harassing to our troops. The poor fellows had no proper rest by night, the smallness of the force requiring so many for the ordinary picquets, and admitting scarcely of any relief for any length of time together; while those who were in camp often slept under arms, not knowing the moment when their services might be urgently required. At first it was literally nothing but fighting by day, and watching and expecting to renew the conflict by night, and in the discharge of both duties you could not fail, from frequent visits to the picquets, to recognise the same hands, everlastingly employed in the same work.

We came to besiege Delhi, but we very soon learnt that, in reality, *we* were the besieged, and the mutineers the besiegers."

Mr. Rotton gives very full accounts of these attacks day-by-day and of the British schemes and attempts as well. He describes the hospitals, the refugees who kept arriving in camp from distant districts, the arrivals too of occasional small reinforcements. Divine service in three centres was performed regularly every Sunday and the sick and dying (for cholera grew worse and worse) were assiduously ministered to. The rains broke on the 19th of June and thence onward the miseries of the low-lying camp were increased ten fold. The enemy cut off communication with Meerut and, as may well be imagined, the anxieties of those who like Mr. Rotton had left their families there, were miserably increased. A veritable plague of flies settled down upon the camp which so poisoned the food that most men suffered attacks of nausea after meals.

The incessant labours accompanied by harassing anxiety called for occasional relaxation and Mr. Rotton apparently during the long course of the siege took two "holidays" which he thus describes:—

"The 23rd of July was one of our stormy days. The enemy renewed the conflict in a very earnest and determined manner. Their attack began about seven in the morning, and was mainly directed against the picquet in the neighbourhood of Sir Theophilus Metcalf's house, which inclined to our left

flank. I remember this day very well, I had my hospitals as usual to visit ; but the work had become a positive burden. I could not set about it with any alacrity or goodwill ; so after making one or two ineffectual attempts to subdue my disinclination and put my shoulder fairly to the wheel, I gave up the task in despair, and promised myself, as far as I really could do so, a holiday. The fact was, I had been overburdened with duty during the past week, and while my physical health was far from good, I was also anxious in mind, on account of the letters received from Meerut. Instead of working, I freely confess I went up that I might see the battle. The point which I selected for observation was the top of the Flag Staff Tower. From this elevation I could see everything with complete satisfaction to myself, and yet without personal danger. There I stood a very long while, now depending upon one friend for a telescope to lengthen my sight, and now under obligations to another for the loan of a binocular to make out the more distant operations of the engagement. Upon one occasion only during my stay here, did the enemy seem disposed to interfere with our sight seeing. We were all intent on what was passing before us, when the outlook exclaimed ' Look out.' His eye had detected the enemy's intended mischief. They fired a shell from a piece of ordnance which commanded the Flag Staff Tower. No sooner was the exclamation heard, than every looker on, the instructed and uninstructed alike, instinctively crouched beneath the parapet upon which we had been a moment before leaning. The shell fell far short of our position and in bursting killed a camel near the spot where it fell ; this was all the mischief that it did. The enemy at that period rarely condescended to expend ammunition on the picquet at the Flag Staff Tower, so that you might generally watch from thence without fear of harm."

The next account presents a startling example of the indifference to danger which familiarity with it is known to breed—Mr. Rotton writes—

"I accompanied two friends to our picquets at Subzi-Mandi, in order to see a little of what was passing there.

When approaching the place we could scarcely advance ten yards without being obliged either to bob our heads to

avoid coming in contact with round shot, or to lie prostrate on the ground to escape being wounded by shell : besides musketry shot came around us both thick and fast.

I saw a rifleman behind a breast work struck to the heart, after having himself shot a mutinous sepoy only a moment before. My after-thoughts respecting this needless exposure of ourselves made me ashamed of my conduct.

We proceeded, as we thought, on a jaunt of pleasure, which might have put us not only to pain, but even cost us our lives, without affording us the gratification of being able to say, 'we were in the path of duty.'

There was a constant suspicion of treachery on the part of some of the sepoy within the British lines. And on several occasions traitors had been discovered and "destroyed." The following is one of the examples of this given by Mr. Rotton :—"Some fresh evidences of treachery" he writes : "within the camp were detected on Sunday, the 16th August. It appeared upon examination that the ordnance charges were found to have been tampered with, to such an extent that our artillery practice could not be depended upon : sometimes our guns carried too far, while at others the shot fell very short of the proper range. Moreover, the gun would sometimes flash as often as three or four times, and once I heard of a piece of artillery flashing as many as seven times, before it would discharge. We were at a loss to account for this phenomenon ; but at length the discovery was made. Some of the gun lascars had been sympathising with the rebels, and in consequence of this sympathy, they had been altering the charges so as to make our fire harmless ; they had also filled the vent of the guns with powdered glass : by this last means, the enemy having the benefit of the signal flash, had ample time to escape, while, when rapid fire on our part was necessary, our operations were hampered and delayed, and our plans often completely frustrated.

Two of the lascars were seized and brought to trial. Their guilt was fully established, and without further delay they were disposed of by the rope of the common hangman, in spite of the sacredness of the day. The more summary the justice, the more the impression is made on the native

mind: it is your tedious processes in the civil courts, and liberty of appeal from one seat of legal administration to another, which the *mild* Hindoo and the blood thirsty Mohamedan alike smile at in scorn.

The day passed off quietly, with these exceptions; and to those off duty, and who felt so disposed, ample opportunities were vouchsafed to pass the Sabbath in serious contemplation, and solemn and earnest prayer. My excellent colleague, the Rev. F. W. Ellis, who had joined only a few days previously, kindly relieved me of my morning sermon before the headquarters camp. The special form of prayer from the Venerable Archdeacon Pratt, directed to be employed during the continuance of the present troubles, was used for the first time on that day."

The siege dragged on its weary length, with varying fortune on either side, but by the end of August despite disappointments, checks, casualties and cholera, "the spirits of the camp" writes Mr. Rotton, in "anticipation of coming events strengthened day-by-day. The happy countenances of officers and men, the games in camp, and the weekly practise of the regimental bands, were among the best evidence of this fact."

The coming events were the speedy arrival of fresh British reinforcements with a tolerably heavy siege train. With this a sustained assault upon the rebellious city was early begun and by Saturday morning, September 12th, all our artillery: fifty guns and mortars, was engaged in pouring an incessant hail of shot and shell upon the walls and bastions of Delhi. "From Saturday until Monday morning" writes Mr. Rotton, "when we stormed and took the ramparts of Delhi, roll after roll of ordnance thunder, in a succession almost momentary fell with electric effect upon the ear." In speaking of the terrific splendour of a living shell traversing the air at night he says, "This sight will detain you, in spite of weariness and want of sleep, and hold you for the hour together, gazing in wonderment and admiration not unmixed with awe.

That Sunday the usual services of divine worship were held despite the roar of the siege and were very well attended, and the Holy Communion was administered.



The city was entered by the breaches in its ramparts and by the Cashmere gate on the 14th and after a week's fighting within the walls "a royal salute at sunrise proclaimed that Delhi was once more a dependency of the British crown." On Sunday, the 27th of September, a public thanksgiving for the victory was offered by Mr. Rotton and his devoted colleague, the Rev. F. W. Ellis, in the presence of the troops in the "Dewan Khas"—or council chamber of the Imperial Palace.

On the evening of Monday, the 28th, Mr. Rotton obtained a week's leave of absence and he says, "I started for Meerut to see my wife and children, after an absence of four as critical months as any ever passed by the English in India."

Returning from leave, Mr. Rotton continued for some months longer at Delhi as chaplain to the garrison until on being relieved he was enabled to revert to his duties at Meerut.

Mr. Rotton received, of course, the Mutiny Medal with the clasp for the siege.

In 1862 he was transferred to the Punjab Hill station of Kussowlie, where the present font and the curiously designed and beautiful altar exist as monuments of his piety. Of this charge he writes—

"My duties there were divided between Kussowlie and the Lawrence Military Asylum; the principal of which died suddenly on 1st January 1863 and from that date I was connected with the institution until I left in 1864 for Umballa. The Local Government was desirous to make me principal, but the Government of India ruled I could not hold it with a chaplaincy nor without forfeiting my pension and rights to membership with the Bengal Military and Orphan Funds. These sacrifices I could not afford to make and begin Indian life *de novo*, with my pension almost due. The chaplains of my date earned their pensions after 15 years of service in India."

In 1874 Bishop Cotton sent him to Umballa where he established the daily offices and a weekly and Holy day celebration of the Holy Communion.

"At Umballa" he writes, "The S. P. G. had in the Sadler Bazaar a catechist who confined himself to preaching on Sundays in the Mission Compound. I gathered for them some 12,000

rupees and built them an unpretentious chapel, and induced Bishop Milman to ordain a country-born, successful retired merchant to take an interest in and minister to the converted and unconverted natives of the Bazaar. I raised subscriptions monthly in support of the cause."

"I left that station" he concludes, "and Church, heart-broken in consequence of the cruel wrench I experienced by my cruel compulsory retirement, contrary to my original covenant with the H. E. I. C. There I had to encounter three epidemics of cholera and one of scarlatina, the first I knew of that disease, in the last year of my service." In 1868 he received the degree of D.D. from Trinity College, Dublin. On the 22nd of January 1876 Dr. Rotton retired and returned home, where he undertook the curacy of Soulderne in the Oxford Diocese; this he resigned in 1890. In 1879 he received the degree of LL.D. from his own University of Cambridge..

H. B. HYDE.

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## Art. VI.—NOTES ON THE CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS.

THOSE who are interested in the advancement of scientific research in India, will be glad to notice that the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, which, with the Indian Museum of that city, form the two main centres of zoological study in this country, are being gradually developed. Among the recent improvements effected in the Gardens, may be mentioned the expansion of its area towards the western boundary. A large strip of land has been acquired from the grounds of the Kidderpore Orphanage and tacked on to these beautiful Gardens. On this newly-added land, several large houses for the accommodation of mammals and birds have been and are being built.

A few years ago, a hot controversy took place in England regarding the alleged inhuman treatment of animals "cabined, cribbed, and confined" in the Zoological Gardens in the Regent's Park, London. The advocates of the movement for the humane treatment of animals specifically charged the Zoological Society of London with wilfully keeping the animals, in their menagerie, confined in small and stuffy rooms or cages, or lodged amidst surroundings which were quite unsuited to their life in a state of nature. One of these advocates went so far as to say that the Zoological Gardens at Antwerp was a model institution of its kind and, as regards the good management thereof and the satisfactory housing of animals therein, could give points to its sister institution in London. He stated that, in the Antwerp Gardens, the dumb creatures were lodged in lofty and airy cages furnished with appurtenances contributing to the comfort of their inmates, or kept in breezy paddocks planted out with shady trees or provided with artificial rockeries where the mammals had free scope for the display of their habits in a state of nature. The houses which have been and are being erected in the newly-added area of the Calcutta Gardens, and

those structures that have been built in the older part thereof, leave nothing to be desired on the score of their suitability and would disarm the criticism of any advocate of the humanitarian movement, who felt inclined to charge the authorities of the Calcutta Zoo with cruel inhumane treatment of animals under their charge.

Among the cages built on the newly-added area may be mentioned the lofty house for the accommodation of the larger *Raptores* or Birds of Prey. It is quite roomy and high and affords these denizens of lofty and inaccessible mountains and hills ample scope for preening their wings and taking higher flights. Among the structures on the old area may be mentioned the new Sarnahoyi House which is quite admirable in its way and quite suited to the habits of the many Cockatoos, Macaws, Parrots, and other smaller birds from the Himalayan regions and submontane tracts of India. To most of the older houses, outer annexes, provided with trees, shrubs, rockeries and little reservoirs of water, have been attached, which enable their dumb occupants to give free play to their natural habits and, thereby, conduce to their health and prolonged life in a state of captivity.

Another useful feature of recent introduction, which I noticed in the course of a visit to the Calcutta Gardens on Monday, the 14th August 1905, is that short notes describing the habits and habitats of many of the important mammals and birds have been recorded on the labels affixed to their cages. This is a move in the right direction, as it enables the ordinary visitor, who is not well up in Natural History, to learn something worth knowing about the animal or bird which he is inspecting. The value of these Gardens as an important factor in the scientific education of the people has, thereby, been enhanced.

#### NOVELTIES.

Among the animals exhibited at the Calcutta Zoo on the 14th August 1905, are the following which I found to be altogether new to the collection :—

In the high sentry-box cage to the south of the Refreshment Rooms, is a specimen of the Particolored Flying Squirrel

(*Sciuropterus alboniger*, Hodgson), which lives, at an altitude of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, in the Himalayas from Nepal eastwards, and also in the hills south of Assam. It is also found in Manipur, Yunnan, and Siam. The upper surface of its body is covered with fur of a greyish brown color, varying to rufous brown. The lower surface of its body is white. Its feet are of a dark brown color, while its tail is brown. The young specimens of this rodent are of a black color on the upper parts, and white on the under surface. Its ears are large but thinly clad without pencils at the base. The tail is flat and distinctly distickous. The fur on the under surface of its body is short. An adult specimen of this beautiful creature measures 11 inches in length.

In the same cage are to be found examples from the Andaman Islands, of that curious crustacean—the Cocoanut Thief or the Robber Crab (*Birgus latraus*) which has the habit of climbing up cocoanut trees, and clawing off and bringing down the big fruits thereof. The habits of this crab have been fully described by Professor V. Ball in his interesting work entitled *Jungle Life in India*.

In the Rodent's House close by, are exhibited specimens of the following animals:—The Common Hare Wallaby (*Lagorchetes leporoides*) and the Orange-bellied Squirrel (*Sciurus gordonii*, Anderson). The former is a marsupial or pouch-bearing animal and is a handsome little creature. Its forelegs are black; and its muzzle is hairy. They resemble their namesakes—the hares—both in their fondness for lying in a “form” and also in their fatal habit, possessed to some degree by all members of the Kangaroo family, of doubling when chased. This species lives in Victoria and New South Wales. There are two other congeners of this pretty little animal, namely, *L. hirsutus* and *L. conspicillatus*, both of which are found in Western Australia.

The squirrel is from Burma. This beautiful animal has the upper surface of its body of a brown or olive color, while its under parts are furriginous, sometimes pale and sometimes deep. A distinct middle line runs along the breast and abdomen. Its throat and foreneck are of a speckled olive color; but sometimes they are furriginous. Its tail is annulated

the tip thereof being rufous or white. Sometimes there is a black bar between the annulated part and the rufous or white tip. Nothing is known about its habits in a state of nature.

In the Schwendler House are several specimens of the Orange-headed Parrot (*Conuropsis carolinus*) which is found in the United States on the Mississippi River. It is a beautiful bird, and has its head and neck of a bright orange color, while the rest of its plumage is green.

We now proceed to the Duck House to the west of the Schwendler House, and find therein several specimens of the somewhat rare White-winged Wood Duck (*Asarcornis scutulatus*, Salvadori). This bird is known to the natives of Assam as *Deo-haus*. It is a shy resident bird and generally frequents sluggish streams and swamps in thick forests. It is found in Assam, Tenasserim, the Malayan Peninsula, and Java. An adult male of this species measures 32 inches; and a female 29 inches. The head and neck of this species are white, speckled with black, more thickly on the crown and hind neck. Its lower neck is blackish brown, glossed with green all round. Its back, scapulars, rump, tail, and primaries are olive brown; the bend of the wing and upper and under wing coverts are white. The greater secondary coverts are blue-grey, broadly tipped with black; the secondaries are blue-grey on outer webs; the tertiaries brown; the lower parts brown tinged with rusty red. Its upper mandible is dusky orange-red, marked with black at base and tip; the lower mandible pale orange-yellow blotched with black along the sides; the nail at the tip of its beak is of a dusky pink color; its irides are crimson; while the legs and feet are orange-yellow. Nothing is known of its breeding habits in a state of nature.

We, then, proceed to the Murshidabad House, where we find, in one of the wall-cages, specimens of the Andaman Green Pigeon (*Osmotreron chloroptera*, Blyth), which, as its name indicates, is found in the Andaman and the Nicobar Islands. It measures about 12½ inches in length. The sides of its head and neck, its chin, and throat, are of a greenish-yellow color; the upper part of the neck is green and the crown and nape are French-gray. The back scapulars, and all the smaller wing

coverts are of a chestnut color; the lower back and upper tail-coverts are more yellow-green than the middle tail feathers. The under surface of its body is of a light yellowish green, to the lower abdomen, the feathers of which and of the lower tail-coverts are of a dark-green color with yellowish-white tips edged with yellow.

In the south-eastern wall-cage of this House is a specimen of the Jumbo Fruit-Pigeon (*Philopus jumbo*). The upper parts of its body and the crown of its head are green, while the sides of the head are crimson. The breast is whitish green, on which, below the throat, is a circular patch of a light crimson color.

In the central compartment is one of the jewels of the collection, namely, a specimen of the extremely beautiful Red Bird of Paradise (*Paradisca rubra*, Vieillot), which inhabits the island of Waigion and for which the Committee of the Zoological Gardens and the Calcutta public are indebted to the liberality of Sir Maharaja Jyotindra Mohan Tagore, K. C. S. I. This gorgeously colored bird measures about 13 to 14 inches in length. "The side plumes, instead of being yellow, are rich crimson, and only extend about 3 or 4 inches beyond the end of the tail; they are somewhat rigid, and the ends are curved downwards and inwards, and are tipped with white. The two middle tail feathers, instead of being simply elongated and deprived of their webs, are transformed into stiff black ribands, a quarter of an inch wide, but curved like a split quill, and resembling their half cylinders of horn or whalebone. They are about 22 inches long, and form the most conspicuous and extraordinary feature of the species. The rich metallic green color of the throat extends only the front half of the head to behind the eyes, and on the forehead forms a little double crest of scaly feathers, which adds much to the vivacity of the bird's aspect. The bill is gamboge yellow, and the iris blackish olive. The female of the species is of a tolerably uniform coffee-brown color, but has a blackish head, and the nape, neck, and shoulders yellow." Mr. A. R. Wallace, who has given the above description of the Red Bird of Paradise in his delightful account of travels in the Malay Archipelago, says that in a state of captivity, this bird would eat any number of grasshoppers and drink plenty of water. On the first day of its life

inside the cage, it would hop from one perch to another, and cling on the top and sides of its cage, and would rarely rest a while till night. On the second day, it would remain more quietly, but would partake of its food as freely as before; and on the third day, it would be found lying dead, at the bottom of the cage. Some birds would take boiled rice, fruit and insects, but none would live more than three days in captivity.

Next we go to the Sarnamayi's House, where, in one of the compartments, we find specimens of the extremely handsome Gold-crested Myna (*Ambeliceps coronatus*, Blyth), which lives in Cachar, Manipur, Lower Pegu, and Tenasserim from Moulmein to Tavoy. Its forehead, the crown of its head, chin and throat are of a bright yellow color. With the above exceptions, the whole of its plumage is of a glossy black color. Its bill is pale orange, iris dark brown, and legs dull orange. This remarkable myna is the only species known of this genus.

Then we find our way to the new Birds of Prey House erected on the newly-added area to the west of the Gardens. In one of its compartments we find a pair of the rare Hodgson's Hawk-Eagle (*Spizactus nepalensis*, Hodgson). The males of this bird are 27.5 inches in length; while the females measure 29 inches. This splendid Eagle haunts the forest-clad heights of the Himalayas from Kashmir to Bhutan and visits the plains of Northern India only during the cold weather. It feeds on pheasants and other game-birds, and on hares and other small mammals. It breeds in the Himalayas from January to early May and lays two eggs of a greenish white color. It is known to the Lepchas under the name of Kandapanthiong. The upper parts of this bird are of a dark-brown color; the crown, crest feathers, the sides of the head and the broad cheek-stripes are black; the ear coverts are streaked with brown; the rump and upper tail-coverts are marked with brown and white bars; the feathers of the tail are barred with alternate stripes of black and brownish gray; the chin and throat are white with a broad black band down the middle and bordered by black on each side; foreneck light brown with large black drops; the rest of the plumage of the lower parts is brown.



We then go to the Kangaroo House in the south-eastern corner of the Gardens, where, in one of the paddocks, we find specimens of the Rufous-necked Wallaby (*Halmaturus ruficollis*, Desm.), which are found in New South Wales, Australia. These animals have somewhat lighter colored fur than the larger Kangaroos and Wallaroos and possess hairless muzzles. It derives its name from the fur of its neck being tinged with a reddish hue.

Synoptical list of mammals and birds described in this paper.

Class Mammalia.\*

Order Rodentia.

Family Sciuridæ.

Genus Sciurus.

1. *Sciurus gordonii*, Anderson.

Hab. Burma.

Genus Sciuropterus.

2. *Sciuropterus alboniger*, Hodgson.

Hab. The Himalayas from Nepal eastwards.

Order Marsupialia.

Family Macropodidæ.

Genus Halmaturus.

3. *Halmaturus ruficollis*, Desm.

Hab. New South Wales.

Genus Lagorchetes.

4. *Lagorchetes leporoides*.

Hab. Victoria, New South Wales.

Class Aves.

Order Passeres.

Family Sturnidæ.

Genus Ambeliceps.

1. *Ambeliceps coronatus*, Blyth.

Hab. Cachar, Manipur, Lower Pegu, Tenasserim.

Order Columbæ.

Family Columbidae.

Genus Osmotreron.

2. *Osmotreron chloroptera*, Blyth.

Hab. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Family *Carpophagidæ*.

Genus *Ptilopus*.

3. *Ptilopus Jumbo*.

Hab. The Indian Archipelago.

' Family *Paradisiidæ*.

Genus *Paradisea*.

4. *Paradisea rubra*, Viellot.

' Hab. The Island of Waigion.

Order *Psittaci*.

Family *Psittacidæ*.

Genus *Conuropsis*.

5. *Conuropsis carolinus*.

Hab. The United States to the Mississippi River.

Order *Accipitres*.

Family *Falconidæ*.

Genus *Spizaetus*.

6. *Spizaetus nepalensis*, Hodgson.

Hab. The Himalayas from Kashmir to Bhutan.

Order *Auseres*.

Family *Anatidæ*.

Genus *Asarcornis*.

7. *Asarcornis scutulatus*, Salvadori.

Hab. Assam, Tenasserim, Malay Peninsula, Java.

DESIDERATA.

One of the present defects of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens is the want of a Refreshment Room for Indian visitors. A considerable portion of the visitors consists of native gentlemen mostly of the middle class. They and their children visit the Gardens generally during the forenoon and, after perambulating therein, often get thirsty. But, for want of a Refreshment Stall, they and especially their youngsters experience much hardship. Formerly, there was such a stall in the north-western corner of the Gardens, where wholesome sweetmeats and cold drinks could be purchased by the Indian visitors. But it has been abolished for reasons not known to the public at large. In view of the crying need for such a stall, the Committee of Management of the Calcutta Zoo will confer a real

obligation on the Indian public by taking effective measures for the opening of this much-needed restaurant.

Visitors to the Zoo will learn from the note recorded on the label on the Rhinoceros enclosure that the Great One-horned Rhinoceros (*Rhe unicornis*) is now found only in certain parts of the Nepal Terai and in some jungly tracts of Assam, whereas a few decades ago these huge pachyderms could be found in the forests of Purnea. Certainly one of the causes which is resulting in their decrease and their retreat northwards is the deforestation of those parts of the country which were formerly frequented by them. But another potent cause of their decrease is that a fair number of them annually fall victims to the rifle of European sportsmen. It is apprehended that this interesting animal will become extinct like the dodo at no distant date. It is, therefore, high time that some effective measures should be taken for the preservation, in the interests of science, of this animal from further decimation. One of the objects for which the Calcutta Zoological Gardens were presumably established is the acclimatization and preservation of beasts and birds. It, therefore, behoves the Managing Committee of the Calcutta Zoo to bring the matter to the notice of the Government to induce it to pass an Act, on the lines of the Elephants' Preservation Act, for preventing the further destruction of the Indian rhinoceri.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

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## Art. VII.—THE FOLK LORE OF THE PSALMS.

### I.—THE GRADUAL PSALMS.

### II.—THE PSALMS OF IMPRECATION.

*Their Title.*—In the Chaldæe Targum (for the sake of the general reader it will be convenient to say that the Targum version of Scripture, is, more or less, of a paraphrastic kind. It was a Targum that Ezra and his companions read, which “gave the sense,” the very word in Hebrew of the Book of the Law of GOD. Nehemiah viii. 8),—in that Version every single one of the gradual Psalms is preceded by this singular enlargement, and paraphrase of its Hebrew title:—“A song which was said upon the steps of the abyss.”

What is ‘the abyss’ will be asked? The phrase refers to a strange legend, which, though it has no critical value, is at least curious from its very strangeness. The story occurs in that one of the two parts of the Talmud known as the Genow, which is in no form accessible to the English reader. I, therefore, translate it as standing there:—“At the time that David was excavating the foundation of the Temple, the deep (that is to say, the water under the earth) overflowed, and wished to destroy the world, David then said, ‘Who is there that knoweth whither it is permitted to write the name of Jehovah upon a tile, and cast it into the deep to quiet it?’ But there was no one who said a word. David then said, ‘Whoever is capable of deciding it, and does not do so, shall be hanged by his neck.’ Ahithophel accordingly wrought the matter in his mind, and applied the *à fortiori* argument. To make peace betwixt a man and his (suspected) wife, the Law says, ‘My name, which must be written with sanctity, must be blotted out with the water.’ (Numbers v. 23.) To cause peace for the whole world, then, how much more so? He said, therefore, to him, ‘It is permitted to write the Name of JEHOVAH and to do as proposed.’ He then wrote the Name of JEHOVAH upon a tile, and cast it into the deep (abyss). The deep, thereupon, receded 16,000 cubits. When he saw that the water sank deep into the earth, he said, ‘It is

“better for the earth, that the water should rise higher, for it imparts moisture to the earth. He, therefore, said the fifteen gradual Psalms, and made the water ascend 15,000 cubits, and caused it to remain at a thousand cubits from the earth.” The gradual Psalms themselves are, it may be observed, supposed to contain some expressions referable to this wonderful story of the Talmud. When, for instance, David found the waters gushing out, he was in great distress. It is this distress that he reports in the very first words, with which he opens the group of gradual Psalms.

“In my distress,” I cried unto the LORD (Ps. ccx. 1). He refers to it again in these Psalms under the image. “Then the waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had gone over our soul.” (Ps. cxxiv. 4)\*

*Their Title.*—The name *Shir Haunna chalot*, “Song of Ascents,” prefixed to these fifteen Psalms, has given rise to much controversy! Different opinions may be thus stated:—

I. The ancients understood it to relate to the steps of the Temple, of this supposition we shall speak hereafter.

II. Luther, whom Thobuck is inclined to follow, renders it a song in the higher choir, intimating that they should be sung from an elevated position, or as Patrick says, “in an elevated voice.”

III. Junius and Tremellius would translate it “Song of Excellencies” or “Excellent Song.”

IV. Gesenius with De Wette consider that this name refers to a particular rhythm in which the sense ascends in a rhythming gradation, but as this barely appears in one Psalm (cxxi.) the facts will scarcely support the hypothesis.

V. The more modern opinion is that (notwithstanding four of them being composed by David, and one by Solomon) it signifies Song of the Ascents (*αναβασις*,) or “Pilgrim’s Song,” being composed for or sung by the people during their journeys to Jerusalem, whether on their return from the Babylonian captivity, or as they stately repaired to their national solemnities. The first of these hypothesis, though in least repute, I am inclined to prefer.

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\* *The Gradual Psalms* by the Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 9.

The title in Chaldee is "A Song sung upon the Steps of the Abyss; the LXX superscription 'Ὠδὴ τῶν ἀνα βυθμῶν' and the Vulgate, *Carmen Graduum*, Song of the Steps."

In accordance with which the Jewish writers state that these Psalms were sung on the fifteen steps leading from the Atrium Israelis to the Court of the women. In the Apocryphal book of the "Birth of Mary" translated by Archbishop Wake, which is to be found in the works of S. Jerome, and which is attributed to S. Matthew there is an account of a miracle in the early history of the Virgin Mary, in which it is said, "And there were about the temple, according to the fifteen Psalms of Degrees, fifteen stairs to ascend." For the temple being built on a mountain, the altar of burnt offering, which was without could not be come near but by stairs. It goes on to state how the infant Mary miraculously walked up these stairs. In the account of the same miracle in the Protevangelion, ascribed to S. James, it is related how the priest placed her (the infant) upon the third *step of the altar*.

From this comparison, it would appear, that the "stairs about the temple" were synonymous with the "steps of the altar."

I would, therefore, suggest for the consideration of those better acquainted with the subject that these Psalms were adopted to be sung (not *on* the steps as some think, but) as a kind of introit while the priests ascended the steps of the altar. To show their adaptation for this purpose, it may be worth remarking that they are all, except cxxxii, introits in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. \*

*Their Headings:* (1) The Song of the Start, (2) A Song by the Way, (3) The Song of the Arrival, (4) The Song of the Suppliant, (5) A Song of the Redemption, (6) A Song of the Return, (7) A Song of the Free for the Bound, (8) A Song of the Home and the City, (9) The Song of the Home, (10) The Song of the Farm, (11) De Profundis, (12) A Song of Humility, (13) The Song of the Ark, (14) A Song of Brotherly Love (15) A Song of the Night Watch. †

\* *Notes and Queries*, Vol. IX., I Series, p. 377.

† *The Pilgrim Psalms* by S. Cox.

*The Term Gradual.*—It may be well to say at once, by way of caution to the unwary, that the term *gradual*, as applied to this group of Psalms, must be distinguished from the same term as applied also to a Psalm in the Eucharistic office of the Christian Church. The Psalm (or portion of a Psalm) that was, and is still in the Western Church, outside the English Communion, sung immediately before the recitation of the gospel, is called the gradual, because it is sung on the steps (*gradus*) to the pulpit or ambon, from which the recitation of the gospel takes place.

The term *gradual*, however, in this sense belongs not to any particular group of Psalms, but is applied promiscuously to any Psalm which the Office Book might have appointed for the service in question.\*

*Analysis of each Psalm.*—Origen believes they came to be used later by the caravans of Hebrew pilgrims going up to Jerusalem at the three yearly festivals, and so explained, a remarkable order is manifest in them.

Ps. cxx. expresses weariness of heathen companionship and surroundings.

Ps. cxxi. The first sight of the mountain girdle of Palestine by the pilgrim now fairly on his way and trusting in GOD to keep him safely on his road.

Ps. cxxii. The concourse of pilgrims, as every cross road send its single travellers to swell the great caravan of the main highway.

Ps. cxxiii. A prayer in peril of an attack by banditti.

Ps. cxxiv. Thanksgiving for deliverance from that danger.

Ps. cxxv. The first sight of the mountains round about Jerusalem.

Ps. cxxvi. Happy and peaceful talk with sympathizing hosts, sheltering and feeding their fellow-countrymen.

Ps. cxxvii. brings them in sight of the peaceful city itself, and therewith recalls how it was once compassed by war as a punishment, for neglecting its keeper, the true Builder of the glorious House, the one sure watchman of its formidable walls.

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\* *The Gradual Psalms* by the Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 1.

Ps. cxxviii. is the greeting of the citizens who come out of the houses to meet and welcome the approaching pilgrims.

Ps. cxxix. is the thankful expression of security uttered by those who are now safe within the fortifications.

Ps. cxxx. brings them in sight of the temple and breathes mingled tones of penitence, longing and hope, uttered from the valley "out of the deep," as the pilgrims prepare to ascend Mount Moriah.

Ps. cxxxi. is the hush of reverence on near approach to GOD'S House of Prayer.

Ps. cxxxii. brings the pilgrims in full view of its pomp and beauty, which causes them to break out into eager words of praise and blessing, recalling the memory of David's zeal for the Tabernacle.

Ps. cxxxiii. is caused by the sight of the anointed priests, visible on the steps, and in the outer court.

Ps. cxxxiv. brings the happy pilgrims within the sacred precincts, and is their greeting to the priests whom they had seen at a little distance just before, while the closing words of all being the priestly benediction uttered upon the travellers, fitly end the pilgrimage, and are the final reply to the first utterance of the series, "When I was in trouble, I called upon the LORD," answered by "The LORD that made heaven and earth, bless thee out of Sion."

An old Jewish comment on this Jacob's ladder of prayer and praise is that each Psalm of the series is a "Song on the steps on which GOD leads the righteous to a happy hereafter." The great Carmelite expositor alleges that the fifteen Psalms were divided by the Jews into three portions of five, with prayers intercalated, much as the Gregorian division of Matins into three Nocturnes; and that each of the three grades of advance in the spiritual life is betokened by each quinary; the beginners, the progressors, and the perfect; or in other terms those who are severally in the purgative, the illuminative, and the unitive way. And thus it will be noticed that in Psalms cxx-cxxxiv., there is constant reference to trouble and danger; in cxx-cxxxix., to confidence in GOD; in cxxx-cxxxiv., to direct communion with Him His house.



And a later commentator (Genebardus) defines the fifteen degrees of going up out of the valley of weeping to the presence of GOD, to be (1) affliction, (2) looking to GOD, (3) joy in communion, (4) invocation, (5) thanksgiving, (6) confidence, (7) patient waiting for deliverance, (8) GOD'S grace and favour, (9) fear of the LORD, (10) Martyrdom, (11) hatred of sins, (12) humility, (13) desire for the coming of CHRIST, (14) concord and charity, (15) constant blessing of GOD.

The gradual Psalms are called by the Greek Church, Prosyria, from the opening words in the lxx. version of Psalm cxx. and they are said, all but the last, at Vespers, in the fifteen weeks before Christmas, Ps. cxxxvi. being substituted for Ps. cxxxiv., already occurring in Nocturnes, and they are also used on week days in Lent. In the West, they were anciently recited daily throughout Lent, but are now restricted to the Wednesdays of that season, and appointed to be said in choir before Matins. They are broken up into three quinarys, with intervening versicle and prayers.\*

*Their Use in the Jewish Church.*—The Hebrew ritual employs the group of Gradual Psalms upon two occasions, which show that in the national mind, they were especially associated with protection from excessive rains. This connection is partly due to the phrase in Psalm cxxiv. 4: "The waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had flowed over our soul." The entire group of fifteen Psalms is said in the afternoon of the Sabbath during the winter months.

The reason of this usage is a tradition that the flood took place in the winter.

This same group, too, formed a prominent feature in the ceremonial practised on the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles—called the festival of the Water Drawing, a festival of the very highest joy, of which the Talmud says that "he who has not seen the rejoicing at the feast of the water-drawing has seen no rejoicing in his life." On that occasion the gradual Psalms were sung, the Levites standing upon the fifteen steps which led from the Women's Court to the Court of Israel, and accompanying the song with harps and bow-instruments and

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\* *Sermons in a Religious House* by Dr. Neale. xvii.

cymbals and trumpets, and musical instruments without number.

Here again the reason for the use of these Psalms seems to be much the same as before.

The world, say the Hebrew sages, is judged by water. These Psalms are said as a protection against its excess. \*

*In Church.*—The Gradual Psalms have furnished the Versicles and Responses with which nearly every office in ancient times commenced. (To convey some idea of the frequency of this use, I have compiled the following list from a Pontifical in Sarum Cathedral Library. The couplet occurs at the beginning of these offices: (here follows the Latin titles of 14 offices). "

Our help standeth in the name of the LORD,  
Who hath made Heaven and Earth,

This couplet is nothing but the last verse of Psalm cxxiv. and with the ancient English Rite directs that all benedictions of things and persons should begin. With this also began the ancient Sarum Office for Confirmation, and it has survived also in the Confirmation Office of our own Prayer Book. †

*Use in the Roman Catholic Church.*—In the devotions of the Roman Church all Gradual Psalms are interwoven in the office of the Blessed Virgin, being mostly said under Antiphons which give a new meaning to the several Psalms.

A similar use is found in the famous arrangement of the Psalter by S. Benedict for his rule. Here also Psalms cxx. cxxix. are said in groups of three at Terce, Sext, and Nones, on Tuesday and on all succeeding days of the week, the rest of the Gradual Psalms occurring at Vespers or compline. ‡

*Their Use in the Eastern Church.*—"I can find (says Rev. S. C. Malan, at one time Prebendary of Sarum) no actual services for the Gradual Psalms, nor offices of them in the book I have. But in the Greek Church by which they are called Proskytia (from the first word of Psalm cxx.), they are said or sung at evensong from September to Christmas. They are also said or

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\* *The Gradual Psalms* by Rev. H. T. Armfield.

† *The Gradual Psalms* by H. T. Armfield, p. 92.

‡ *The Gradual Psalms* by the Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 99.

sung in the Roman Church during the special service for Thursday in the first week in Lent.” They form, of course, he adds “one of the Kathismata” into which the Psalms are divided in consequence of Canon xvii., of the Council of Laodicea, and of Canon lxxv., of the sixth Œcumenical Council. These Kathismata obtain throughout the Greek Church, in the Russian, Georgian, etc., and also in the Armenian divisions of the Psalter.\*

The Greek Church appointed these “Songs of degrees” or up-goings to be sung in the fifteen weeks before *Christmas Day*. The truth embodied in this appointment is this—that at that season the Church of GOD which is a pilgrim in the world, approaches nearer every week to Him who is the True Temple in which the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily.

Probably from a similar feeling, two of these Psalms (the 130th and 132nd) are appointed in the Sarum and Latin Use for Christmas Day.†

*Office of the Gradual Psalms.*—One of the most striking uses of the gradual Psalms as a whole consists in the beautifully constructed office of the Gradual Psalms which is contained in the Roman Breviary. Whether the English Rite had any similar Office I have not been able as yet to ascertain. This Office is said on all Wednesdays in Lent (the Penitential Psalms being said on Friday) unless one of the greater Festivals happen to fall then. Bona (*De Divenâ Psalmodiâ*) gives the reason for this use. “Inasmuch as it is proper that we be holier than usual on those days, we add these (gradual) Psalms to the task of our wonted service, that by them we may be admonished that an ascent, as it were by steps (graduum) to perfection in the spiritual life is prepared for us.‡

*Curious rhyming abstract of these Psalms.*—The Psalms of Degrees in the ancient Church, often constituted in common with the “Penitential Psalms,” a vehicle of special devotion. In the “Coventry Mysteries” there is a curious rhyming abstract of this portion of the Psalter introduced

\* *The Gradual Psalms* by the Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 105.

† Bishop Wordworth's *Commentary*, p. 197.

‡ *The Gradual Psalms* by the Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 95.

into one of these pious interludes. The subject of the Play is "Mary in the Temple," and among the interlocutors is a Bishop, who thus addresses the Virgin.

Come, gode Mary, come baba, I the calle,  
 Thi pas pratyly to this plas pretende,  
 Thou scalt be the dowfare of GOD, eternalle,  
 If the fifteen grees thou may ascende ;  
 It is meracle if thou do, now GOD the dyffende !  
 • ffrom Babylony to hevychly Jherusalem this is the way ;  
 Every man that thynk his lyf to amende  
 The fyftene psalmys in memory of this mayde say.

Maria ! et sic deinceps usque ad finem quindecim psalorum.

The first degree gostly applyed

It is holy desyre with GOD to be

• In trobyl to GOD I have cryed •

And in sped that LORDE hath herde me.

Ad DOMINUM cum tribularet clamavi et exaudivit me

The secunde is, etc.

So on from Psalm 120 to 135 inclusive ; the first two lines of the English stanza, stating the subject generally ; the other two being in each case a translation of the first verse of the Psalm, the Latin being subjoined, as in the foregoing example.\*

*Bishop Parker's Observations.*—The bearing of the various portions of this sacred Gradual is thus pointed out by a series of "Observations" prefixed in Bishop Parker's version to the 120th Psalm.

These fittene psalmes next following,  
 Be songs denamd of steps or stayers  
 For that the quiere on them dyd sing  
 The people's vowes to bless by prayers.  
 For lucky speede in theyre affayres,  
 As nede and tyme as case dyd bring,  
 In wedlock, warr, or house begonne,  
 For peace for ayde, for freedom wonne.†

We may notice the following characteristics of nearly all these Psalms : sweetness and tenderness ; a sad pathetic tone ; brevity ; an absence generally of the ordinary parallelism ; and something of a quick trochaic rhythm. ‡

\* Hammond, p. 86.

† Hammond, p. 88.

‡ *The Speaker's Commentary*, p. 455.

## II.

## THE PSALMS OF IMPRECATION.

*Bishop Perowne's view.* But how are we to account for such prayers for vengeance at all. We find them chiefly in four Psalms, the 7th, 35th, 69th, and 109th; and the imprecations in these form a terrible climax. In the last no less than thirty anathemas have been counted. Are these the mere outbreak of passionate and unsanctified feeling, or are they the legitimate expression of a righteous indignation? Are they to be excused as being animated by the spirit of "Elias," a spirit not unholy indeed, but far removed from the gentleness and meekness of CHRIST; or are they the stereotyped forms in which the spirit of Christian devotion may utter itself? Are they Jewish only, or may they be Christian also? An uninstructed fastidiousness, it is well known, has made many persons recoil from reading these Psalms at all. Many have found their lips falter when they have been called to join in using them in the congregation, and have either uttered them with bated breath and doubting heart, or have interpreted them in a sense widely at variance with the letter. Some have tried to reconcile them with a more enlightened conscience, by regarding such words, not as the expression of a wish, but as the utterance of a prediction, but the Hebrew optative, which is distinct enough from the simple future, absolutely forbids this expedient. Others again would see in them expressions which may lawfully be used in the soul's wrestling against spiritual enemies. And finally some would defend them as utterances of righteous zeal for GOD'S honour, and remind us that if we do not sympathize with such zeal, it may be not because our religion is more pure, but because our hearts are colder.

Now the real source of the difficulty lies in our not observing and bearing in mind the essential difference between the Old Testament and the New. The older dispensation was in every sense a sterner one than the new. The spirit of Elias, though not an evil spirit, was not the spirit of CHRIST. (Luke ix. verse 55.) "The Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." And through Him His disciples are made partakers of the same spirit. But this was not the spirit

of the older economy. The Jewish nation had been trained in a sterner school. It had been steeled and hardened by the discipline which had pledged it to a war of extermination with idolaters, and however necessary such a discipline might be, it would not tend to foster the gentler virtues; it is conceivable how even a righteous man, under it, feeling it to be his bounden duty to root out evil wherever he saw it, and identifying, as he did, his own enemies with the enemies of Jehovah, might use language which, to us appears unnecessarily vindictive. To men so trained and taught, what we call "religious toleration" was a thing not only wrong, but absolutely inconceivable.

It may be quite true that we find revenge forbidden as directly in the Old Testament as in the New, as, for instance, in Lev. xix. 18. "Thou shalt not avenge, etc.," though even there is a limitation "against the children of Thy people." And it may be no less true that we find instances of imprecation in the New, as when S. Paul says (2 Tim. iv. 14). "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil, the Lord reward him according to his works," or when he exclaims (Acts xxiii, 3) "God shalt smite thee, thou whited wall" or, "If any man love not the LORD JESUS CHRIST, let him be anathema." But these expressions are very different from the varied, deliberate, carefully contracted, detailed anathemas of the Psalms. And Our LORD'S denunciations to which Hengstenberg refers, are in no way parallel. They are not curses upon individuals, but in fact solemn utterances of the great truth. "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."

But after all, whatever may be said of particular passages, the general tone which runs through the two covenants is unquestionably different. To deny this is not to honour Moses, but to dishonour CHRIST (Matt. v, 4-3; xix., 8). On the other hand we must not forget that these imprecations are not the passionate longing for, personal revenge. The singer undoubtedly sees in his enemies the enemies of GOD and His Church. They that are not with him are against GOD. And because the zeal of GOD'S house even consumes him, he prays that all the doers of iniquity may be rooted out.

The indignation, therefore, is righteous, though it may appear to us wrongly directed, or excessive in its utterances.

Once more, the very fact that a dark cloud hid GOD's judgment in the world to come from the view of the Old Testament saints, may be alleged in excuse of this their desire to see Him take vengeance on His enemies here. How deeply the problem of GOD'S righteousness exercised their minds, is abundantly evident from numerous places in the Psalms. They longed to see that righteousness manifested. It could be manifested, they thought, only in the evident exaltation of the righteous, and the evident destruction of the wicked here. Hence, with their eye always fixed on temporal recompense, they could even wish and pray for the destruction of the ungodly. The awful things of the world to come were to a great extent hid from their eyes. Could they have seen these, then surely their prayer would have been not "Let the angel of the LORD persecute them," "Blot them out of Thy Book," but rather with Him who hung on the Cross, "FATHER forgive them, for they know not what they do."\*

*Bishop Alexander's view.*—That explanation which regards the "enemies" as spiritual foes has a large measure of truth.

It commended itself to a mind so far removed from mysticism as Arnold's. It is most valuable for devout private use of the Psalter.

For, though we are come to Mount Sion, crested with the eternal calm, the open ear can hear the thunder rolling along the peaks of Sinai. In the Gospel, the wrath of GOD is revealed from Heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness. Sin is utterly hateful to GOD. The broad gates are flung wide open of the city that lies four square towards all the winds of heaven; for its ruler is divinely tolerant. But there shall in no wise enter in anything that defileth, neither whatever worketh abomination; for He is divinely intolerant too. And thus when, in public or private, we read these Psalms of imprecation there is a lesson that comes home to us. We must read them, or dishonour GOD'S word. Reading them, we must depart from sin or pronounce judgment upon ourselves. Drunkenness, impurity, hatred, every known sin of flesh or spirit—these, and not mistaken men, are the worst enemies of GOD and of His

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\* *The Book of Psalms* by J. Stewart Perowne. Vol. I, p. 293

CHRIST. Against these we pray in our Collects for Peace in Morning or Evening Prayer—"Defend us in all assaults of our enemies, that by Thee we being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness." These were the dark hosts which swept through the Psalmist's vision when he cried, "Let all my enemies be ashamed and sore vexed" (Psalm vi, 10.)\*

I cannot forbear the following little incident that occurred the other morning at family worship. It happened to be reading one of the imprecatory Psalms, and as I paused to remark, my little boy, a lad of ten years, asked with some earnestness, "Father, do you think it right for a good man to pray for the destruction of his enemies like that?" and at the same time referred me to CHRIST as praying for his enemies.† I paused a moment to know how to shape the reply, so as to fully meet and satisfy his enquiry, and then said, "My son, if an assassin should enter the house by night, and murder your mother, and then escape, and the sheriff and citizens were all out in pursuit, trying to catch him, would you not pray to GOD that they might succeed and arrest him, and that he might be brought to justice?" "Oh, yes!" said he, "but I never saw it so before. I did not know that that was the meaning of these Psalms." "Yes," said I, "my son, the men against whom David prays were bloody men, men of falsehood and crime, enemies to the peace of society, seeking his own life, and unless they were arrested and their wicked devices defeated, many innocent persons must suffer." The explanation perfectly satisfied his mind.†

So far from the Scotchman being destitute of humour, his dry drollery seems to break out incessantly. The author of "Stronburg; or Hanks of Highland Yarn" appears in many of his pages to have gathered up and incorporated into his conversations a good many pieces of floating humour which we have heard before.

After a good laugh at the factor's story (quoted in Paxton Hood) we began to get ready to walk home, but the shepherd

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\* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity.*

† *The Psalms Chronologically arranged by F. G. Ilibard, M. A. (Cambridge).*



returned to the subject, which had evidently taken a deep hold of his mind. "Well, ye ken, gentlemen, no to deteen you, thae Psaulmes—many's the time they come into my mind on the hill side. Many a time when I am up yonder, I'll say to myself 'I to the hills will lift mine eyes.' They take an awful grip of the heart thae Psaulmes; if an angel would tell me yon twenty-third Psaulme was no inspired, I dinna think I would believe him. But yon cursing Psaulmes is terrible, I canna thole them at all."

"Yer wrang there," said the factor, who was shouldering his basket, but who put it down on the floor again, "yer wrang there; do yo mind Donald McLennan who was once at Cambuslâich?"

"I do that" said Ronaldson, "and a great blackguard he was."

"Well then, he was in prison for taking a sheep by mistake, at least that was what he said, but the Lords o' Session would not believe him; and one tay when the meenister or chaplain came into the cell, he found him reading the Bible vara attentive.

Oh, my man,' says the meenister, 'I'm glad to see you occupied that way; you will find the Psalms you are reading very comforting.' 'Deed I do, sir,' says he, 'I was just reading the Psalm where David curses all his enemies, and I was hoping the curses would come on the heads of them who put me in here.' Ye see, Ronaldson, he got goot out of the cursing Psalms, though you could git none!"

"Well, factor, if he did, I mak' him welcome to any comfort he could get. I'm thinking the Bible is like yon park down by the burnside; if you put a horse and cow, and a sheep and goat in it, each would find good food in it according to his own nature." \*

M. A. (CAMBRIDGE).

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\* *Scottish Characteristics* by Paxton Hood, pp. 305, 306.

# THE VICTORY.\*

## TRAFALGAR CENTENARY.

21st October 1805.

I stand upon the spot where Nelson fell,  
The lion-hearted Chief whom none could tame,  
But doom'd ere peal'd his country's proud acclaim-  
To leave Her—whom he lov'd, and served so well :  
Upon me floats the deep o'er-mastering spell  
Of the great sailor, and the day of fame,  
When that last signal, flashing forth like flame,  
Thrill'd through our sea-kings o'er Trafalgar's swell.

O Ship of high renown, and ancient home  
Of storied valour, to our race how dear !  
For me thy memory haunted planks become  
Peopled with warriors, and again I hear  
The three decker rush onward thro' the foam,  
And the glad thunder of the victors' cheer.

C. A. KELLY.

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# CRITICAL NOTICES.

(1) A. FOUCHER : L' Art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara. (2) SYLVAIN LÉVI : Le Népal.

THESE two monumental works have appeared this year in Paris and it is no credit to Indian and British scholarship that it should have been left to Frenchmen to produce them. The latter from its local interest to inhabitants of Bengal, has the first claim on our notice. Prof. Lévi holds the view so stoutly contested by Prof. Rhys Davids, the Buddhist *savant*, that India has no history. Only three countries within her pales have really, according to him, kept their part in memory, namely, Ceylon, Kashmir, and Nepal. The history of this last he has traced, in the most approved methods of critical scholarship, with notes of his authorities at the foot of every page. To these German virtues he has added that clearness of statement and lightness of touch which hardly ever fail to enlighten the erudition of a Frenchman, and make the book the most delightful reading.

The first European to visit Nepal, so far as is known, was Father Grueber, a Jesuit, who while in Pekin got orders from Rome to return home, and finding the sea route blocked by the Dutch, calmly took the alternative, and proceeded by land, crossing Tibet and Nepal on his way (1662). There reigned in Katmandu when he passed through a freakish monarch named Pratâpa Mulla, self-surnamed the "Prince of Poets," who set up in his capital an inscription, even now standing, with specimens of the fifteen "scripts" which his Majesty professed to decipher. Among these were French and German, taught to him perhaps by some wandering Armenian. This part of the inscription runs : AVTOMNE WINTERLHIVERT.

The results of Grueber's journey soon began to appear in European maps. In one drawn by Nicolas Visscher is a curious error. Grueber's German accent led him to write Batana for Patna, and the strange form was taken to be the name of some new city, so that Patna and Batana are found at a considerable distance apart. In the same map Nepal is made to have Orissa as its southern boundary.

Coming to modern times, the author expresses regret that Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri and Professor Bendall

have not yet produced the detailed catalogue that they promised of the Sanskrit MSS. examined by them in Nepal. As readers of the CALCUTTA REVIEW are doubtless aware, this promise has just been redeemed.

The second volume of M. Lévi's work will be awaited with a lively interest.

The work of M. Foucher is devoted to a subject which is not devoid of local interest in Bengal, since some of the finest specimens of the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandharā are to be found in the Calcutta Museum, where they give pleasure to thousands of persons, mostly coolies. It is perhaps too much to hope that the publication of this magnificent work may draw the attention of Europeans in Calcutta to the neglected treasures of the Museum. To any one with the slightest tincture of taste or knowledge of these sculptures, where the art of Greece and India are so subtly blended, cannot fail to be attractive. Atlas, Triton and Cupid form a strange contrast to elephant, crocodile, and cobra. Another feature may be mentioned—the visitor runs no risk of encountering those abominations which the student of later Indian art has only too good reason to expect.

**MEMORIALS OF OLD DEVONSHIRE, edited by F. J. Snell, M.A. (Oxon).  
London : Bemrose and Sons.**

THE object of this book is to present, what may be termed, a history of Devonshire in episode. Historic Devonshire. The Royal Courtenays; Old Inns and Taverns of Exeter; Gallant Plymouth Hoe; The Blowing up of Torrington Church; The landing of the Prince of Orange at Brixham; French Prisoners in Dartmoor; Ottery St. Mary and its Memories; Honiton Lace, and Barnstable Fair are among the chapters in this volume. The various writers have, more or less, connections with the place or subject on which they write, and many interesting and valuable facts are gathered together under the different chapters. There is an abundance of illustrations which add much to the value and importance of the volume.

There is much matter here for speeches at the Annual Dinner given by Devonshire men in this City, and we recommend the book to the Devonian Society in Calcutta.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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